



The Historiographer

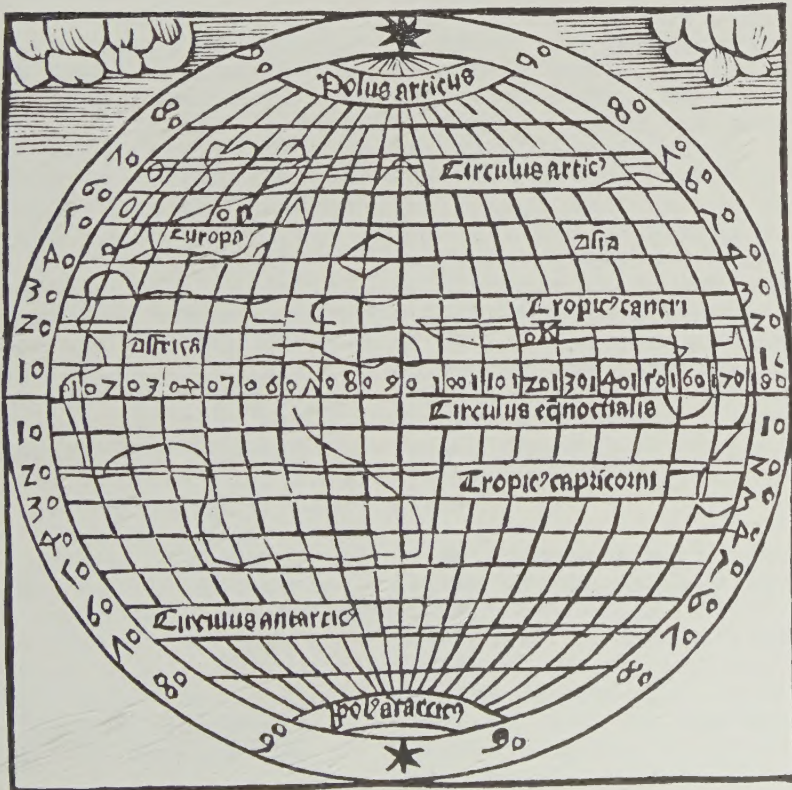
of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut



Number 49

Trinitytide

1964



THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER

By Joseph Hooper

T H O M A S B R A D B U R Y C H A N D L E R ,

A Clergyman of the Church of England
in the American Colonies.


A sketch by one of his descendants, Joseph Hooper,
Rector of St. Marks Church, Mystic River, Connecticut.

[Edited from the inaccurate typescript, dated ca. 1900,
in the Archives of the Diocese of Connecticut]

The worthies of that sad period of the Church of England in the Colonies when she was allowed to struggle against great odds with very little encouragement from the Church at home--when prejudice and sectarian zeal made her in many of the American Colonies a byword and an hissing--have not received from this generation the attention they deserve. The pens of historical students in the Church have indeed given us admirable lives of several, like the memoirs of Drs. Samuel and William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, by Dr. Eben Edwards Beardsley; of Dr. William Smith of Pennsylvania by his great-grandson, Horace Wemyss Smith; of Bishop Seabury, by the historian of the Church in Connecticut, Dr. Beardsley; of Bishop White by Dr. Bird Wilson; of Bishop Inglis by the historiographer of the American Church, Bishop Perry. With the exception of Dr. Samuel Johnson and Bishops White and Seabury, there is no priest in the Colonial Church to whom more frequent allusion is found in historical sermons and sketches during these past few years of Centennial celebration in the various dioceses of the Church than Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler. A man who was able to defend the faith of the Church of England against many and bitter foes who was thought worthy to be the first English Bishop on this continent, the chosen friend and associate of the wisest and best minds in the colonial Church, who retained the respect and esteem of friends from whom he widely differed during the American Revolution, who by his wise counsel was able to shape some of the legislation in the early conventions of the Church in the United States, ought to have a fuller memoir than the sketches in Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, Hatfield's History of Elizabeth, and Clark's History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, and a few lines in cyclopedias of biography.

Much of the material for such a memoir was destroyed by over-cautious friends during the Revolution; his letter book has disappeared from the archives of St. John's Church, Elizabeth; his sermons have been scattered and very few are now in existence; the diary kept during his residence in England is in the Library of the General Theological Seminary awaiting an editor. I shall attempt to gather what can still be found concerning his life and character--the authentic facts which have survived after the lapse of a century--and present the pen and portrait of a priest¹ and doctor of the Church in the days when the prospect seemed dark and when she was persecuted and misunderstood. This will serve to check the tendency that is still found by some in the Church to throw contempt upon the colonial clergy--to group them together as men of small, mental calibre, of little moral worth, with scant learning and less piety, with the faults and none of the excellencies of the age in which they lived. Many churchmen imagine that the clergy sent to the American colonies were content to settle down in some town where there was a comfortable support and to consider their own ease and comfort before they took thought for the flock of Christ. There were then, as in every period of the Christian Church, men who did not regard the solemn vows of their priesthood, and who, like the Levite that became the priest of Micah, were willing "to sojourn where they [might] find a place".

An examination, however, of the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the records of ancient parishes, as well as family histories and published volumes on that period will convince any candid enquirer that the American Clergy were generally men of apostolic fervor and zeal, who penetrated forests, explored



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

rivers, made long and weary journeys, and endured hardship and fatigue in their anxiety to preach the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ to every soul they could reach in the American wilderness, as the country was at that time.

Thomas Bradbury, the eldest son of William and Jemima (Bradbury) Chandler, was born at Woodstock, Connecticut, on April 26, 1726. The town is a pleasant one in the northeastern corner of the state where it touches Massachusetts, and is in the midst of charming scenery. The late Henry Ward Beecher said of it: "Its like I do not know anywhere. It is a miniature Mount Holyoke, and its prospect the Connecticut Valley in miniature." The Chandler family came of sturdy English stock. John Chandler, of Andover, Mass., a man of prominence and influence in his day, who married a daughter of William Peters, a brother of the famous Hugh Peters, chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, was colonel in the Colonial Militia and the common American ancestor.

Mr. Chandler's early years were passed upon his father's farm, where like all farmers' sons he worked during the summer and attended the winter terms of the village school. Developing at an early age a fondness for study and reading, he was allowed to pursue the studies preliminary to a college course. He was entered at Yale College, New Haven, then under the presidency of the Rev. Thomas Clap, an educator of marked excellence, in A. D. 1741. In pleasant and familiar intercourse with the well-selected body of professors and fellow students he passed four years of constant application, acquiring a familiarity with the classics, philosophy, and mathematics--the foundation for his extensive knowledge of men and books, which in after years gave him a wide reputation. Among his classmates were men who filled various walks with honor and usefulness. Jeremiah Leaming, afterward a revered clergyman, the first choice of his brethren in Connecticut for Bishop on Annunciation Day, 1783; William Smith, a jurist of known integrity and learning, the first historian of New York, who became Chief Justice of Canada after the Revolution; also Nathaniel Taylor, Samuel Lockwood, and John Cleveland--well-known Congregational ministers and theologians. Samuel Seabury, Ezra Stiles, and Richard Morris were then members of classes below him, and William Samuel Johnson, jurist and statesman, were in the class

above him.

Mr. Chandler was graduated in 1745 and, returning to his native town, taught school for several terms, acquiring in this way the money necessary for his support while studying for Holy Orders in the Church of England. Mr. Chandler's family were devout and rigid members of the Congregational Establishment, the "Standing Order" as it was called in Connecticut. It was probably during his college course, and from investigation and reflection, influenced by the visits of Dr. Johnson and conversation with him, that Thomas Bradbury Chandler, like many other young men of ability and promise in Connecticut at that time, to use the expressive phrase of Dr. Johnson, "declared for the Church".

There was no seminary in the colonies where candidates for Holy Orders could acquire the necessary theological learning to pass the examination before the chaplains of the Bishop of London, then the Diocesan of the whole American continent. The young men who were moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them the ministry of the word and sacraments were obliged to put themselves under the care of some learned and experienced priest, living in his family, acquiring familiarity with parish and mission work, reciting regularly to their instructor, and then taking the long, expensive and perilous journey to England for ordination. No one in the colonies had a higher reputation for his profound knowledge, a happier method of imparting instruction, a stronger influence for good over young men, than the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, Rector of Christ Church, Stratford, Connecticut. From his pleasant parsonage on the Housatonic went forth many to do good service in the colonial Church. It is more than probable that Mr. Chandler studied under his direction, and that in this way the friendship between these two worthies began. Mr. Chandler was then twenty-one years old, energetic, enthusiastic and well furnished for his life work. He could not sail for England to be ordained until he was twenty-four, the age required by canon for the priesthood. He did not wish to be idle in the three years of waiting. He could serve as a catechist, the term then used for an office much like that of lay reader in the present day. The colonial catechist took special charge of the children of the parish, taught them the catechism, and gave them other religious instruction. Often he

was their secular schoolmaster, caring for the religious welfare of Negro slaves and Indians in the parish and neighborhood. Often a candidate for Holy Orders, in the scarcity of clergy he kept alive in remote sections a love for the Church and her orderly methods until a priest could be sent to minister to the few sheep in the bare loghouses in the midst of forests and on distant frontiers. Such a position was ready for Mr. Chandler. The annalist of the Venerable Society, the late Dr. Hawkins, says: "He had first been signed for the office of catechist at the Station of Bedford and North Castle, New York."² At that time the important mission of Saint John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, twelve miles from New York City, was vacant by the death of the Rev. Edward Vaughan, who for forty years had been its faithful and indefatigable pastor. The vestry were anxious that the vacancy be at once filled and invited Mr. Chandler to visit them. The result is told in this extract from a letter of the wardens, John Halstead and Henry Garthwaite, to the Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, the Secretary of the S. P. G., dated December 26, 1742:

"The dissenters can with great ease be supplied with a teacher, but alas! our infelicity is such that we must have recourse to a distant aid; yet how thankful ought we to be that it hath pleased God to raise up such pious men as composed that venerable Society for our support."³ Upon a mature consideration of these things, and upon the advice of the Rev'd Mr. Seabury, the Rev'd Mr. Brown and the Rev'd Mr. Charlton⁴ we have given an invitation to Mr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, educated at Yale College in Connecticut to reside amongst us till he be of age for Holy Orders, at which time if his conduct shall answer his present character, we humbly hope the Society may be pleased to grant him leave to go to England, and if found worthy that they may continue to him the usual bounty allowed by them to the said Church at Elizabeth Town; for the present he may be the means of keeping the congregation together by catechising and instructing our youth, and by reading some of the prayers of our excellent Liturgy with a sermon at such times as we can't have the assistance of the clergy.... And we do further beg leave humbly to implore and supplicate that venerable and charitable Body that they would be pleased in their great goodness to

appoint the said Mr. Chandler their catechist amongst us with an allowance of such a salary as the venerable Society shall think fit, that our children and servants may have the benefit of public catechising and further instruction in the first principles of the Christian Religion and the Salutary doctrines of our Holy Church."⁵

To this request the Rev. Dr. Johnson added his strong endorsement in a letter to the Society, dated at "Stratford, Jan. 12th, 1747-8" in which he says: "And concerning him I can truly give this testimonial, that as he was bred at this College; and I have known him three years at least, he appears to me a truly valuable person, of good parts and competent learning for his time and circumstances, being bachelor of arts of nigh two years and a half standing, and of good morals and virtuous behaviour; and on all these accounts is of good estimation of all that know him. And I make no doubt that he will do every good service in answering the pious ends of the society, if they shall think proper to employ him as catechist for the present and in orders when he shall be of age about a year and a half hence."⁶

The Rev. Mr. Seabury also spoke of Chandler in the highest terms as "a person of good character descended from a family of honor and reputation in this country, who from his furniture in learning, prudence, gravity, sincere piety and good temper as well as agreeable voice was likely to prove very useful in the designs of the society."⁷

The Society, acting upon these representations, in May, 1748, formally appointed Chandler as their "catechist at Elizabethtown, New Jersey," with a stipend of ten pounds per annum. He brought to his duties discretion, prudence, diligence and ability. In December, 1749, he reported to the Society that he was diligently discharging the duties entrusted to him by reading prayers and a sermon to a full steady congregation on Sundays." Catechising between the services and visiting the people of every condition, with zeal for the extension of the church, he visited many towns in the vicinity of Elizabethtown, mentioning particularly "Raway" where he occasionally read service in a private house, and was surprised at seeing the great concourse of people on one occasion. He found several families attached to the

Church, some of whom attended divine service at St. John's, a distance of five miles from their homes. After a careful examination of the religious ideas of the people of Raway (now Rahway) he thought that "by the industry of a faithful clergyman stationed in Elizabeth Town a considerable part of the Presbyterian Meeting in that place might be gained over to the Church." Three miles northwest of Raway he also visited--Westfield--where several families constantly met on Sundays to read Divine Service.⁸ Turkey, at a distance of twelve or fourteen miles, was also cheered by his presence. Those to whom he ministered gave him their love and affection. He was on cordial terms with all sorts and conditions, and by his frankness, courtesy, and genial manner he did much to disarm prejudice against the Church. In December, 1749, the young catechist was provided by the parish with a comfortable house which for many years served as the parsonage of St. John's Church. While Chandler did all that a layman could do for the upbuilding of the parish yet, since the nearest clergyman resided twenty miles away, it was only occasionally that the sacraments of the church could be administered. Because the town and Parish were growing and the neighboring clergy were needed in their own parishes Chandler saw opportunities for large and permanent growth slipping by. The expectation that he would be appointed to the mission as soon as he was of age to receive Holy Orders was not fulfilled, for the separate existence of Elizabeth Town as a Mission was ignored. In 1749 it came under the care of the Rev. Thomas Wood, Missionary at New Brunswick. The Wardens and Vestry of St. Johns feeling this oversight to be an injustice, in a letter sent to the Society in December, 1749, said: "WE have already been deprived for above two years of the ordinances of our Holy Church unless occasionally administered by the neighboring Clergy as it could consist with their duty to their respective parishes. But we have not been discouraged as Mr. Chandler has been with us although but in a lay capacity, and as we had hopes of his being appointed our minister as soon as he should be of sufficient age"⁹

Although he had reached the canonical age no steps were taken to summon him to England and in the following spring the vestry again wrote in still more urgent terms showing plainly the reasons why the union of New Brunswick and Elizabeth was a hindrance to the growth of the

church: "Mr. Wood has made two visits; we honor him as the Ven'ble Society's Missionary and hope that he will never have reason to complain that we treat him otherwise than with suitable respect.... But that Rev'd Sir we have been at such an expense in purchasing a Parsonage House (whereof we have given an account in our late address) and in getting [a] new Bell, besides the constant expense we are at in maintaining Mr. Chandler, that we fear we shall be able to do but little towards Mr. Wood's Support.... We have been constantly told by the Clergy that we might expect Mr. Chandler would have liberty to go home for Holy Orders last Fall. By last Fall we provided him a Parsonage House and he was to enter upon his Voyage waiting for nothing but the Ven'ble Society's permission.... The situation of our circumstances is still such that unless we have a Minister constantly to officiate and reside amongst us, we can have but a melancholy prospect before us- Our congregation will decrease and we have too great reason to fear that in time it will hardly deserve that name. For as long as the Dissenters in this town have five Ministers settled, constantly to officiate in publick, to visit them in private, ready to serve on any particular occasion and in a word that are always with and among them, and we can have none with us but once in three weeks, or a month, who resides at the same time at 20 miles distant with a Ferry between him and us which makes our dependence upon him at any particular time more uncertain; as long as this is the case without a prospect of being better provided for, the difference is so great in their favor that most of our people might be persuaded to think it their duty in that condition to join with the Dissenters.... [S]hould the Ven. Society grant us a constant Missionary there is no doubt but our Congregation would greatly increase and our people would not regret the heavy expence and trouble they have been at. Mr. Chandler is the person we have all along had in view and from an acquaintance of between 2 and 3 years we are convinced that he is well qualified to serve us in the character of a Minister, and as he is agreeable to our People universally, it is particularly in his power to be a useful Missionary in these parts. We therefore most earnestly and humbly renew our request to the truly charitable Society that he may have leave to go home for Holy Orders as soon as possible and that he may be appointed Missionary to this place with such a salary as the Venerable

Society shall think fit to grant him."¹⁰

Such an appeal could not be overlooked. The Clergy of New Jersey and New York City added the weight of their endorsement to the worth of Mr. Chandler--indicating that he had earned for himself the office of a priest in the Church of God by his course as catechist. He was, therefore, summoned to England in the early part of 1751-2 and arrived in the summer of that year. He passed the time required in England before ordination, brilliantly sustained the canonical examinations, and in August, 1751, was ordained Deacon and Priest by the Rt. Rev. Thomas Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, acting for the Venerable Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, a staunch and influential friend of his flock beyond the Atlantic, whose sermons are among the standard volumes of Eighteenth-Century divinity. While in England Mr. Chandler made friendships which he preserved through life with men of learning and position both in London and Oxford:

St. Paul's Deanery, London,
Feb. 27, 1752.

Good Dr. Johnson,

I am very sorry that I have neither performed your desire of procuring a degree for Mr. Chandler, nor answered your letter sooner. But I hope you will see reason to excuse me. On his first application to me, I engaged the Bishop of Norwich to ordain him, with the Bishop of London's approbation; for I was going myself into Oxfordshire.... About the same time he wrote to me, to desire that I would ordain him; because he believed the Bishop of Norwich would be too much engaged with the Prince of Wales. I returned him answer, that the Bishop had promised me to do it.... [O]n my return to town, Dr. Bearcroft told me that he had been ordained by the Bishop of Norwich, and was gone back.¹¹

The atmosphere of intellectual life at Oxford as well as the treasures that he found there and at Cambridge were very agreeable to him and made his visit memorable. He treasured up the knowledge he then acquired for use when he should be far removed from such society and from the companionship of books. Licensed by the Bishop of London to officiate in the plantations on August 20, 1751, he soon after sailed for his native land and reached Elizabeth Town in November, 1751,

where he was joyfully received entering actively upon the duties of his ministry. It was a new era in his life, its obligations and responsibilities he deeply felt, and we find him ever the devoted parish priest. The details of his parochial life, his attention to every portion of the work that then was expected of a clergyman, his mission and spirit, his private studies, his family affection are topics upon which we find abundant testimony both in his letters in the Society and in all traditions handed down by his family and friends. He soon became noted for his clear, sensible sermons and for his excellent judgment. He lived in intimate relations with the clergy of New York. Dr. Barclay, the Rector of Trinity Church, New York City, a fellow alumnus of Yale, and a man of varied learning, who in his ministry had been an Indian catechist and missionary, doing the hard work of a pioneer at Albany, on the borders of the province of New York, gave him the benefit of his varied experience. Richard Charlton, then Rector of Staten Island, was an old and valued acquaintance. The Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, the new assistant at Trinity and catechist to the negroes of the city, was commencing a ministry that led to the high honor of the rectorship. In 1754, his preceptor in theology, Dr. Johnson, removed to New York as the first President of King's College. Samuel Seabury, his associate in college, took up the work of Mr. Wood at New Brunswick, and the close and tender tie of kindred tastes and aims was broken only by death. With these men as his nearest neighbors and with the claims of a congregation that was continually increasing, Mr. Chandler found himself contented. His salary was thirty pounds per annum from the S. P. G., and sixty pounds New Jersey currency from St. Johns Church--a sum equivalent to thirty pounds sterling. His whole salary was hardly equal to five hundred dollars in United States currency, but by the close and rigid economy of the times, the use of the glebe attached to the parsonage, and his early training upon a New England farm he lived comfortably upon it. His first official act was the baptism on November 3, 1751, of "Matthias, son of Matthias and Susannah Williamson." Mr. Chandler (in June, 1752) was married to Jane, the daughter of Capt. John Emott of Elizabeth Town, who brightened the parsonage, who filled admirably all the duties of wife and mother, and who made the parsonage the centre of a refined and cheerful influence throughout the

community. Six children gladdened their hearts. The youngest daughter, Mary Goodin, became the wife of John Henry Hobart, the lion-hearted Bishop of New York. His only son William became a captain in the British volunteers and died in 1784 at the early age of twenty-nine. It is a pleasant fact that several of Dr. Chandler's descendants are now ministering at the altars of the Church. The recent death of the Venerable John Henry Hobart D.D. has removed from earth his only surviving grandson.

The progress of the parish to a state of active prosperity and the earnest effort of every one to make it strong in faith and good works, are evident from the letter sent yearly to the Society. They are too long to be quoted here in full. They show that both minister and people worked together and as a result the forty communicants of 1747 increased to ninety by 1754, eighty-five families in Elizabeth Town and its vicinity being enrolled on the register of the parish. With the spirit of a true missionary Mr. Chandler sought out the families of the Church of England who had settled in the remoter parts of New Jersey, went to towns where the Church might be welcomed and gathered congregations to listen to the claims of the Church. In May, 1752, he mentions an invitation he had to preach "at Woodbridge, which is ten miles distant, situated in the public road from hence to Philadelphia. I was glad to accept of it. Accordingly I have preached there six times already, and have promised them a lecture every four weeks, which I have hitherto, and design hereafter punctually to discharge. It is a country town large and populous as most in these parts, but the number of families have not yet been learnt. There were formerly a few families there that professed themselves of the Church of England, but they had not been visited by any of our clergy for upwards of twenty years. There are two congregations there, one of Presbyterians and the other of Quakers, the latter of which has very much increased of late years; appearances now are much in favor of the Church there, and I have seldom had less than 200 hearers." The work there grew and prospered, and in 1754 "a small but decent Church" was built and Mr. Chandler "made it a rule to preach in it every 6th Sunday and to administer the Holy Communion thrice a year".

In 1752, Mr. Chandler also visited his native town, writing to the Secretary in

November: "I have lately had a journey of more than 200 miles into New England, and am surprised at the great increase of the Church in many places there. I preached at Woodstock an inland town, 35 miles distant from any place where the service of the Church had ever been performed, and by the numbers that attended my lectures, and by the desires many of them expressed of further opportunities of attending to and being acquainted with the service of the Church, I am convinced that it is for want of opportunity that there is not a large congregation of Conformists"¹² It is a sad commentary upon the loss of opportunity that to this day there is no parish of the Church in Woodstock, the nearest being St. Philip's Church, at Putnam.

The position of rector of Christ Church, Stratford, Conn., made vacant by Dr. Johnson's acceptance of the presidency of King's College, New York City, was offered to Chandler, for in a letter to his son, William Samuel Johnson, written January 20, 1755, Dr. Johnson says: "The melancholy condition of my poor destitute people is very affecting to me. I talked with Ogilvie and Chandler to no purpose."¹³

He had made an excellent impression upon his elder brethren in the ministry, and upon the members of the Church in New York and in New England. In a letter written in 1754, he asks the Society to grant him an increase of stipend because "in this town provisions of all kinds are as dear as in our most populous Cities. For we have here a sea Port but 16 miles by water from New York, and equally handy to foreign markets, and meats of all sorts is in fact dearer here than in the New York Market." He also says: "I had invitations to other places, but the inclination and wants of the people made too strong an impression on me, and I consented still not to leave them." He expresses his wish to remain in Elizabeth Town: "I should rejoice to spend my strength and my days here."

The stipend was increased to fifty pounds, and the diligence of the pastor soon made many new families both in the town and its vicinity members of the Church of England. Because he carefully instructed them, their descendants at the present time are the faithful and constant supporters of the Church in New Jersey and throughout the land. The loss of more than twenty-eight pounds of the salary promised from St. John's Church

by deaths and removals was more than equalled by the contributions of these converts to the Church. The growth was sure and constant. The wardens and vestrymen were always men of prominence and ability. John Halstead, Jacob De Hart, Henry Garthwait, Jonathan Hampton, Matthias Williamson, John Ogden, and John Chetwood were among those who at this period ably supported their young rector and by their prudent management made the parish noted for both financial and spiritual prosperity. With the cares that came upon him and with the daily task of teaching in a school that he had established, he yet found time to pursue regularly and systematically the study of theology and literature, to improve his style of writing and preaching. It was afterward said of him by Dr. Samuel Seabury, afterward Bishop of Connecticut, that "no man in America could mend his pen." His English friends recognised this studious habit and from the University of Oxford, he had the high honour of receiving on May 25, 1753, the degree of Master of Arts then conferred upon only a chosen few of the Colonial clergy. In the winter of 1757-8, when an epidemic of small pox raged in Elizabeth Town, the celebrated president of the College of New Jersey, Jonathan Edwards, and his daughter Mrs. Burr, the mother of Aaron Burr, were among those that died, and Mr. Chandler for many months was dangerously ill with that disease, so terrible in its effects and so dreaded by our ancestors who knew not the blessings of vaccination. Although three years later he recovered his former strength, he bore to the day of his death the marks of its ravages in a deeply pitted face.

The final struggle for supremacy on this continent between the French and English was felt in Elizabeth Town, as in every part of the colonies. The defeat of Gen. Braddock and the alarm created by Indian outrages on the Western border of the province roused the young men to defend their liberties and caused the General Assembly, with Jonathan Belcher the royal governor, to hold its sessions in Elizabeth Town and use every means to make life and property secure by calling out the militia, levying taxes and arousing public interest in the vigorous prosecution of the war. It was upon a day of fasting during this war that the sermon from which some extracts are given here was preached. They show the clearness and beauty of Mr. Chandler's style of pulpit oratory. The manuscript, now in the possession of the writer, is writ-

ten in small neat hand with very few interlineations or erasures. It consists of sixteen pages of small octavo sermon paper. Unfortunately the pages containing the text and the concluding sentences are lacking. The extracts are given verbatim et literatim:

"The several national calamities mentioned in y^s Chapter, altho' in a far less degree, have in y^{ir} turns been sent to chastise us. But y^t w^{hh} now lies y^e heaviest upon us and y^e farther Calamities of w^{hh} we are now met together to deprecate by y^e Solemn Humiliation of ourselves before y^e Almighty, is y^e Misery of a consuming war by which our young men have been slain w^h y^e sword. This war however unavoidably undertaken and successfully carried on--has been unexpectedly long and tedious, bloody & expensive. Many thousands of lives have been sacrificed and many millions of Treasure expended without producing what we so much desire and what I trust we have always had in view, y^e Security of our Religion and y^e undisturbed Possession of our Civil Rights and properties. Nay y^e agreeable Prospect we lately had of so desirable an event seems now to have vanished; new fuel is added to y^e flame--to what Degree it may be enraged --how far it may extend and what will be the Event of it, is impossible to foresee or determine. We are like weary mariners who after having obtained a Sight of y^{ir} Haven, by an adverse Blast are driven back anew to encounter without any Refreshment w^h all y^e Fatigues and Perils of y^e Ocean. In y^s disagreeable Condition, y^t we may improve y^e Sense of our public Sufferings and of y^e Transgressions for w^{hh} we suffer to y^e Design of y^s Days Solemnity--y^t we may duly humble ourselves under a Sense of our Sins and be alarmed w^h just Apprehensions of what we may farther suffer, is we continue to repeat y^m--and y^t God may not complain of us, as formerly of y^e Jews, y^t tho he has slain our young men w^h y^e sword, and permitted other evils to befall us, yet would we not return unto him--I propose f^m y^e words of my Text & y^e Occasion of y^e day to prove and illustrate these two particulars, viz: 1st: That y^e sword is an Instrument of God's vengeance & y^t all wars are a judgment sent f^m him to chastise y^e iniquity of both y^e contending parties, and 2dly: That to remain incorrigible under God's Judgments is y^e highest Degree of Provocation; and y^e certain way to unavoidable Destruction.... But if to y^e Uneasiness of such an anxious and doubtful

State, we add ye unavoidable calamities with which all war is attended if we reflect upon the Confusion and Disorder, ye Waste and Desolation, ye Injustice, Cruelty & Oppression, ye undistinguished Violence both to Friends and Foes during ye Heat and Hurry of a Battle or Pursuit, wh many other frightful circumstances yt might be named: This must farther convince us how far such a State is from being at any Time eligible, even under its most promising and favorable Aspect --& what a Pain it must be to a Breast yt has any generous Sense of Pity, even to conquer at ye Expense of so much Misery to our Fellow Creatures. ¶ I forbear to aggravate the black and dismal Scene by representing ye Cruelties in cold Blood, wh other licentious Outrages & Excesses, committed not only without but against Command by those Sons of Violence whom no Rule or Order can restrain--I am speaking only of a regular Oppression and disciplined Barbarity, such as is warranted by ye Law of Arms, & is in some Degree necessary towards ye successful Prosecution of War. But may we not ergo infer from ye unhappy Necessity which obliges us to be ye Instruments of so much Mischief, yt War in its best State is a dreadful Calamity? Of whh by ye way it is but a poor Alleviation yt our Enemies have suffered much more yⁿ we ¶ But let us take another View and turn from ye evils we occasion to others, to those we suffer ourselves. Is it not enough to damp our Pride and make us ashamed of our confident Boasting when we consider at how dear a Rate many of our Victories have been purchased? How our young men have been slain with ye Sword and how many Lives have been sacrificed and some of ye Lives of those who were ye Flower and Boast of ye Nation.... When Men can despise and trifle with ye Admonitions of Heaven instead of profiling by y^m y^y must be dead to all Goodness having no spark of ye divine Life remaining in y^m In a bodily Lethargy when all ye vital Functions are at a Stand ye patient is often recovered by rougher Methods when those yt are gentle are ineffectual. But when ye violent Remedies too have been applied in vain, we despair of Life and when once ye body can feel no pain we justly conclude yt it can feel Nothing else. Now this is the Case of the Soul as well of ye Body for even t^t has its Lethargy too. It is sometimes so buried in Sense, so plunged in Selfishness and Brutality yt all its Faculties are superseded; it becomes stupid and void of Reflection and scarce appears to be an active principle....

Had it not been much happier for Pharaoh after ye experience of two or three judgments if he had complied wh ye Almighty's orders. Was it consistent with Wisdom to bring upon himself & Country Ten dreadful Plagues and in ye end ye destruction of all y^{ir} first-born? And after all he was forced to permit yt whh he had obstinately refused; & not only to consent to ye departure of Israel, but even court those to be gone whom he had detained by violence.... But oh! may none of us ever act or suffer like y^m. Let ye Judgments and Calamities as well as ye Mercies which God in his wisdom is pleased to allot us have y^{ir} intended Effect upon us--by engaging us to repent & to purify our Consciences f^m dead Works to serve ye living God."

Mr. Chandler's concern for his flock is seen in a paragraph of a letter written to the Secretary of the S. P. G. on July 5, 1760: "Many persons of otherwise unblameable lives continue to be backward in coming to the H. Communion; notwithstanding my utmost endeavours to convince them of their duty herein, and to persuade them to practise it. For which reason I must renew my application to the Society, for a number of The Reasonable Communicant or some such book, if they are not ordered already; and I shall be careful to distribute them in the most proper manner."¹⁴ In the following year he is anxious as to the state of the parish and afraid that the good feeling between churchmen and dissenters meant indifference to fundamental truth: (Elizabeth Town April 6th 1761) "The Dissenters have become so charitable as to think there is no material difference between ye church and themselves; and consequently that no material advantage is to be had by conforming to ye Church and under the influence of this opinion, custom and a false notion of honor will be an effectual bar against conformity. On the other hand I fear that such is ye moderation of ye Church, as to return ye compliment in their opinion of ye Dissenters and possibly in time we may come to think that ye unity of Christ's body is a chimerical doctrine--that Schism is an Ecclesiastical Scarecrow--and that Episcopal is no better than ye leathern mitten ordination; or in other words, that ye authority derived from Christ is no better than that which is given by ye mob."¹⁵

On July 20, 1762, Governor Josiah Hardy granted a charter of incorporation

to "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestry of St. John's Church in Elizabeth Town," procured principally through Mr. Chandler's exertions. The late Governor Belcher had granted on Aug. 22, 1753, a charter to the Presbyterian Church, of which he was a member, and the Churchmen of the town had suffered the disadvantages of their unchartered existence until the arrival of Governor Hardy on Oct. 29, 1761, when formal application was made. Mr. Chandler in this same year resigned the charge of the parish at Woodbridge which he had undertaken at the commencement of his ministry. His faithful oversight had resulted in the building up of a strong and vigorous congregation, and now that the mission at Perth Amboy was to be filled, he thought it expedient that Woodbridge be attached to the care of the missionary in that place. Writing to the Secretary he says: "The society will be pleased to remember that I was appointed their missionary at Woodbridge on my own request with a discretionary power to serve them in such a manner and proportion as y^e circumstances of that place and this might render expedient. An enlargement of my salary on that account was neither asked nor desired, nor were any promises of pay made me by the people nor have I ever received any pay, or gratuities to the amount of more than five Guineas in y^e whole time of my serving them altho' in that service I have rode more than 3000 miles and preached near 200 sermons besides doing other duties."¹⁶ In October, 1762, Mr. Chandler with the Clergy of the Province and according to the wish of the Society met in "Voluntary Conventions" (as had been the custom for several years) in the beautiful town of Burlington and in the historic Church of St. Mary, under the presidency of the Rev. Richard Charlton. At this and similar gatherings the Rector of Elizabeth Town was an able counselor. The pleasant and frequent clerical meetings of the present day were then impossible. The means of communication were slow and infrequent. The roads were poor, and the missions that must be looked after by each clergyman so extensive as to allow scant leisure for even consulting one's clerical brethren for even a few days. When they were able to meet, their time was spent upon matters of practical importance: the extension of the Church into neglected sections, the need of Bishops, the care of the widows and orphans of clergymen who had fallen at their post, and mutual cheer.

The plans for the enlargement or rebuilding of the Church occupied much of Mr. Chandler's attention during 1763, but the political agitation then beginning, the very serious encroachments upon the rights of the people in the colonies, made the postponement of the work necessary. The reluctance of some to receive the Holy Communion was still a grief to the rector, and in January, 1764, he wrote to the Secretary: "The whole number of communicants in this place altho' it sometimes has been upwards of ninety at present is reduced by death and removals to about 75, of these we have seldom more than 50 together at a time which is owing to their dispersed situation. I still find it extremely difficult to remove the unreasonable prejudice which prevents men's obedience to this divine ordinance which I believe is also the case of many of y^e clergy as they generally prevail throughout y^e American Colonies, altho' not equally in all places."

A sermon prepared for Good Friday, 1761, was preached at Woodbridge on Sept. 12, 1762, and at Elizabeth Town in 1763, and repeated in 1766, 1769, 1771, and 1774. It was from the text, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Christ" (Galatians 6:14). After setting forth the redemption wrought by our Lord upon the cross, and the benefits we receive thereby, he speaks of the Holy Communion. It is taken verbatim et literatim from the original manuscript now in the collection of the writer: "Lastly, another instance and proof of our glorying as becomes us in y^e cross of X, is frequently and worthily to celebrate y^e memorial of his death, y^e B. Sacrament of his Body and Blood. For as often as ye eat y^s Bread & drink y^s Cup, ye do show forth y^e Lord's Death till he come. i. e. Ye do significantly express it, & solemnly publish and declare it. Indeed both y^e sacraments, of Baptism & y^e Lord's Supper as y^y [derive] y^{ir} efficacy fr^m y^e cross of Xt, so do y^y [also] bear some resemblance of his death: Baptism, of his death and Resurrection jointly, and y^e Eucharist, of his Death alone. For y^s Sacrament was instituted for y^s very End and Purpose to imprint on our minds, by y^e symbols of Bread broken, and of Wine poured out, a lively Image of y^e great Sacrifice of y^e cross --and to inspire us by y^t means w^h such holy Thoughts and Affections as a good Xian would have, if he was actually a spectator of y^e passion of Xt. We should

ergo never neglect to resort to y^s mysterious Repast when opportunity offers; and more especially at y^e great Festival y^t succeeds his Passion. Then we should more especially endeavor thereby to raise our Devotion and inflame our Love towards God, for y^e abundant mercies bestowed on us by y^e sufferings of His B. Son. Nor can we abstain fr^m y^s table of our Lord without forgetting (indeed without so far renouncing) our Relation to X crucified; and thereby declaring ourselves utterly unworthy of y^t holy name whereby we are called. Verily, verily, except we eat y^e flesh of y^e Son of Man and drink his Blood, we have no life in us.... And must not our Stupidity and ingratitude be as amazing as his Love, if y^e very circumstances, in w^hh he gave us y^s Precept, do not incline us to obey it? Can we neglect and despise y^s great memorial of His Death, w^hh he instituted for our spiritual advantage? Ought we not rather to fear [lest] by abstaining willfully and contemptuously fr^m y^s H. Table, we should involve ourselves in some Degree of yir Guilt; whom y^e Apostle declares to have trodden under foot y^e Son of God, and counted y^e Blood of y^e covenant by which y^y were sanctified an unholy Thing? But fr^m y^e Guilt, and y^e miserable Fate of such Wretches, may God in his infinite mercy deliver us, thro' y^e merits of y^t cross w^hh is y^e Glory and triumph of every good X'ian; to whom w^h y^e Son & y^e H. Ghost, three Persons but one God, be Glory & Dominion forever & ever."

The wonderful preaching of George Whitefield in America, the thousands that flocked to hear him, the large-hearted charity which caused him to plan the Orphan House at Bethesda, Georgia, his intense piety and apparent sincerity won for him on his first visits to America, a warm welcome by his brethren of the Church of England. But as at a later period in his public discourses and private exhortations he began to speak slightly of the Church of which he was a minister, and as he arraigned her Bishops and clergy for lack of true religion, and as he set at defiance the authority he had solemnly vowed to obey, and as he developed theories of salvation into doctrines necessary for every true Christian to believe, there was a withdrawal of co-operation and sympathy. Had he confined himself to matters of faith, had he not wandered into speculation in religion, no man could have done more to advance the cause of Christ in the Colonies than that most eloquent priest of the Church of England. Of

course, George Whitefield was both abused and misunderstood. The prevailing tone of religious life and practice was low, and his searching appeals did awaken many consciences and cause men and women to serve God more truly. To many of the clergy in the Colonies it was a bitter grief to be obliged to deny him the use of their churches and to oppose some of the doctrines he taught.

Mr. Chandler, as the pastor shielding his flock from false doctrine, felt compelled when Whitefield was in Elizabeth Town, in November, 1763, to refuse him the use of the church. He gives his reasons in a letter written on July 5, 1764, to the Secretary of the S. P. G.: "Some things have lately happened in my mission of which I think it my duty to inform the Society. My Tranquility which never before was interrupted was somewhat disturbed in the Winter past, by reason of my refusing my pulpit to Mr. Whitefield, who signified his desire of preaching in my Church. This unluckily, was at a time when no clergyman had yet refused him since his past coming into the country and after his having had y^e free use of y^e Churches in Philadelphia, which last consideration was what led my people to expect and desire that I should receive him into mine. But knowing the very exceptionable point of light in which he formerly stood with my superiors at home thro' his undutiful and schismatical behaviour, and having no evidence of his reformation in those respects much less of his having made any due submission to the Governors of y^e Church and obtained y^e Bishop of London's Licence, I could not think y^e example of y^e clergy in Philadelphia sufficient to justify a conduct in my opinion so absurd or so inconsistent with y^e Rules of our ecclesiastical Polity. These reasons I offered but a great part of my people remained unsatisfied and appeared to be much offended at my incomppliance. I was not without some degree of anxiety about the event of it; but y^e tumult has gradually subsided and matters have for some time returned to their former level, excepting that two or three persons of no consequence have left y^e church. However whether this has been altogether owing to the above refusal or to another cause I cannot pointedly say. Yet, I suspect y^e latter viz: That they have been induced by y^e arts of dissentors who are at this time in this part of the world using all their dexterity and address to gain proselytes from y^e Church. It is a great hardship upon y^e Church in these

Colonies, that its friends must act only on the defensive, ye times being such as to render it important and unsafe to venture into ye Territories of its Enemies. If ye clergy say a word even to their own people concerning ye unity of Christ's body, ye nature of schism, or of necessity of authority derived from Christ in ye Ministers of his religion, ye alarm is immediately sounded, we are stigmatized as factious, and not only so but ye venerable Society is abused on our account. If we are altogether silent upon these heads our own people grow indifferent and in time may think it immaterial whether they are in communion with ye Church or join with a conventicle. This I fear is beginning to be ye case of my own congregation in particular. I have always made it a rule to preach chiefly on practical subjects and to bring as little of controversy as possible into ye Pulpit. I have always lived upon good terms with my Dissenting Neighbours and with some of them I have cultivated a considerable degree of Friendship. This has been my manner for some 13 years that I have been in this Mission in consequence of which while I have been generally esteemed by my own congregation I have had no ill report amongst them and this I take to be much the case even at present."¹⁷

The excitement caused by this action speedily subsided, and in February, 1765, he was able to report that notwithstanding the defection of a few persons, "none of whom are of any influence," he still had under his care ninety-seven families "who professed themselves of ye church and whom I believe in general to be as good christians as their neighbors." In the same year the parsonage house was enlarged, and though the state of the parish was one of quiet and peace, the political action of the majority of the British parliament and the scheme of colonial taxation then proposed were beginning to arouse the people of the colonies. Premonitions of the Revolution were seen on every hand. Extravagant theories as to the rights of the colonies and the powers of Parliament were put forth and eagerly discussed. The passage of the Stamp Act, the determined manner in which it was resisted, and the growing feeling that the Colonies had been unjustly treated, made the position of the clergy of the Church of England more difficult than ever, for they were regarded by many of the Christian bodies in this country as creatures of the state, who were willing to share in the oppression of kinsmen and neighbors. Joined with

the alarm occasioned by the taxation of the colonies, was a bitter and vindictive controversy upon the establishment of an American Episcopate. The patriots of Boston and New England in general believed that the Stamp Act was only the beginning of a series of outrages upon those who were British subjects with all the rights and privileges granted by Magna Charta. They had resisted the introduction of Bishops from that early period of their history when, in 1623, the Rev. William Morrell had visited New England with Robert Gorges, bearing a commission as commissary from William Laud, then Bishop of London. The plan of the same, wise and large-hearted Laud, in 1638, when Abp. of Canterbury, to send a Bishop into New England; the unexecuted patent appointing Dr. Alexander Murry as Bishop of Virginia in 1672; the stirring and pathetic appeals of Colonial clergymen and laymen from the planting of the Church in America to the Revolutionary War need not be rehearsed here.¹⁸

The connection of the rector of St. John's, Elizabeth Town, with the subject is an honorable one. He had been born in this country, he had seen the need of a proper head for the clergy, and he had been obliged to decide questions that ordinarily would be referred to the Bishop. The erratic course of Whitefield had made plain to many of the clergy and to the more thoughtful laymen the necessity for a Bishop who did not reside three thousand miles away--whose knowledge of the wants of his diocese could not be accurate, and whose decision might be received before the need for it had passed away. While others were merely hoping that a Bishop would be sent to remedy this state of things, the clergy of New Jersey and several from New York, under the presidency of the Rev. Myles Cooper, then President of King's College and a warm personal friend of Mr. Chandler, sent an appeal to the Venerable Society, adopted by them at a convention held at Perth Amboy, on Oct. 3, 1765, in which they enumerate the trials and difficulties under which the Church of England in the Colonies was then suffering. Mr. Chandler was among those present. In writing three months later to the Secretary after mentioning the disturbances of the times by which "the duty of a missionary in this country is now become more difficult than ever," he says, "England has always been benefited nearly in proportion to the wealth and commerce of her Colonies. Whether therefore any measures that tend to lessen that wealth

and commerce can finally be of service to Great Britain is a question which may not be unworthy the attention even of those who are the Guardians of her Interests. The Parliament has undoubtedly been misinformed, for that the Colonies in general abound in Wealth and are able to pay any considerable Tax to the government will upon proper enquiry [be] found to be as true (and indeed the assertion is founded on the same testimony) as that an American Episcopate would be utterly disagreeable to more than 19-20ths of all the People in America. However we thank Mr. H--k that he did not insist on 20-19ths which he might have done with equal veracity."¹⁹

Mr. Chandler, on January 23, 1766, was admitted by the University of Oxford to the degree of Doctor in Sacred Theology. It was an honor conferred by the University upon only the most distinguished and learned of the American clergy. It testified to his real and solid attainments in theology. Dr. Johnson had said in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "I know of none so much to my mind that loves books and reads so much as he." The same testimony was given by other theologians like Dr. Barclay of New York, and Dr. Henry Caner of Boston. In acknowledging the receipt of the diploma in a letter written on July 10, 1766, to the then infirm and aged Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, he says: "I have lately received a Diploma from the University of Oxford for a Doctor's Degree, and by a letter from Dr. Burton Secretary to the Society for propagating the Gospel, I understand that I am indebted to your Lordship for joining in a recommendation of me to the University. I trust I have a true sense of the obligations I am under to that Illustrious body, but the Honor done me by your Lordship and the other great prelates who were pleased to recommend me I esteem to be much greater than the degree immediately confers and I will make it the business of my life to prove so far as possible that so distinguishing a favour is not altogether improperly bestowed.

¶ I have been favoured with a sight of your Lordship's kind letter of March 10th in answer to an address from the Clergy of New Jersey and New York on the subject of American Bishops. ¶ It gives me inexpressible concern as it must give to every friend of the Church especially to those who are witnesses of its suffering state in America to find that there is so little prospect of Relief and that little, so very remote. The present

situation of affairs appears to be unfavourable to sending of Bishops to America and would really be so if this country in general was as greatly disaffected towards it, as has been pretended by some. However your Lordship will be pleased to recollect that our addresses were signed before the disturbances which have so universally prevailed throughout the Colonies and if we had been able to foresee them or had even suspected them, we should not have chosen such a time for an application of this nature.... But notwithstanding my Lord, I humbly apprehend that the disposition of this Country has been grossly misrepresented and that Bishops might be introduced even at this time without any considerable opposition, or clamour. The Presbyterians and Independants who amount to not one-half of the Inhabitants in the North American Colonies, are the only people who would be disobliged thereby; and even their prejudices and objections I take not to be invincible. On the other hand I fully believe, from such trials and experiments as have been already made with many individuals that if a pamphlet was published and carefully spread throughout this Country fairly representing the only plan upon which American Bishops have been requested, assigning the reasons for it and confuting the objections against it without any reflections or severity of language that could give offence the affair might be carried without any open opposition."²⁰

The course suggested in the paragraph just quoted was adopted. The convention of clergy of New York and New Jersey, with two delegates from Connecticut, met May 21, 1766, at the house of Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, New York. The Revd. Samuel Seabury, then rector of Grace Church, Jamaica, the secretary,²¹ appointed a Committee to prepare an address upon the state of the Church to the Venerable Society, to devise means for enlightening the American people upon the objects sought in obtaining Bishops for the Colonies. It was hoped that the Nestor of the American clergy, Dr. Samuel Johnson, would prepare the volume. His long and intimate acquaintance with the needs of the church, his influence with many who differed from him on matters of faith, his close and friendly relations with the authorities of the Church of England, made him peculiarly well adapted for the task. He would have undertaken it but for a tremor in his hand,²² and suggested that the Rev. Dr. Chandler be asked to prepare it. He furnished the

plan upon which it was to be written, and the manuscript was submitted to him before it was printed. In September, 1766, Dr. Chandler wrote: "By a letter from Mr. Cooper of late date I find that you continue to think that something should be published on the subject of American Bishops and that I ought to undertake it. As to the former of these points, I have for a long time been convinced of the necessity of it in order to bring the Dissenters and some of the Church people, and perhaps, horresco referens some of our clergy into a just way of thinking on the subject. But as to the other point, as I am conscious of my own unfitness for the task, I have never been so happy as to be able to join with you in opinion."²³

The anniversary Sermon before the S.P.G. in February, 1767, was preached by the Rev. John Ewer, D.D., Bp. of Llandaff. It was largely devoted to a consideration of the needs of the Church in America. It spoke of the state of some parts of the country as little better than infidel and heathen and pleaded for an American Episcopate. Dr. Charles Chauncy of Boston, one of the most prominent and able ministers of the Congregational churches, took this as an attack upon New England, which he fancied was specially alluded to. He wrote bitterly, caustically and sarcastically, a "Letter to a Friend containing Remarks on the Bishop of Llandaff's Sermon."²⁴ The Rev. Mr. Inglis, then an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, issued a temperate "Vindication" in answer to William Livingston's "Letter." Dr. Chandler then became the president of a voluntary convention of Clergymen from New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, held at Shrewsbury, New Jersey on October 1, 1766. He was also made the chairman of a committee of three, appointed by the convention to present to the Bishop of London an address upon the letter he had sent to the clergy of New York in March of that year. The address (from the pen of Dr. Chandler) in a calm and forceful manner presents anew the oft-told tale of the need of Bishops, the delay and hesitancy in granting the prayer of the clergy and laity of the Church of England in America, and the uselessness of appointing commissaries who could neither confirm, ordain, or enforce discipline. The present was spoken of as a favorable time to renew actively the effort to obtain Bishops. At this convention the formal request was made to Dr. Chandler that he would

prepare the proposed appeal to the American Public. He accepted the duty assigned him but insisted upon a Committee's being selected to aid him in the work, to whom he might submit his first draft and to whom he might look for suggestions.

The publication of Dr. Chauncy's attack upon Bp. Ewer's sermon probably hastened the publication. In the midst of his parochial work and although the care of the missionary efforts of New Jersey fell upon him, he was able to write clearly, cogently, temperately, to give fully and yet briefly the reasons why Churchmen of the Colonies, desired that the apostolic office should no longer be wanting upon this continent, that a truly primitive Bishop exercising only spiritual powers should be consecrated for the sheep now scattered abroad without a shepherd. Dr. Chandler finished the draft of the appeal in the spring of 1767. Without the corrections of his friend, Dr. Johnson, he would not publish it. Since President Cooper was about to make a short visit to his predecessor now again at Stratford, to him the manuscript was entrusted. A short time previous, on April 15, Chandler had written: "Mr. Cooper will bring you my papers concerning American Bishops. I am ashamed that they should be offered for your inspection in so rough and imperfect a state; but my absolute inability to gain time to write them over again and give them a general correction, must be my apology. Before they go to the press, which will be some time in June, I must transcribe them; and by that time I shall be able to improve them much by the assistance of friends. Even without such assistance, I think I could make them less unworthy of the notice of the public, by straightening the crooked places, and smoothing the rough ones, besides other amendments. But I begin to be disturbed in proportion as the time of publication draws nigh; and I must beg the favor of you to be on this occasion, what you have ever been on all occasions, my fidus Achates, my mentor, my guardian, and conductor. Every instance of your severity I shall esteem as a proof of your affection; and should your pen be as sharp as the point of a javelin, it would give me not pain but pleasure.

¶ You will therefore not be sparing in your animadversions, for the credit's sake of a young adventurer, who has been pushed forward by your own impulse, and for the sake of the cause, which must considerably depend on the success of

this publication. I am sorry the papers cannot be left longer in your hands than Mr. Cooper is with you; but when I was appointed by the Convention to draw them up, I insisted upon a Committee to assist me; and as Mr. Seabury is one of the Committee, and has never had an opportunity of seeing them but in a very cursory manner last week in New York, I promised him, that after Mr. Cooper's return from Stratford they should be left in his hands."25

In June, 1767, the work was published under the title, "An Appeal to the Public, in Behalf of the Church of England in America," by Thomas Bradbury Chandler, N. Y., 1767. On the title page: "We desire a fair Trial--if we are guilty punish us, if we are innocent protect us."--Justin Martyr.

The immediate effect was discouraging. The clergy in Maryland and Virginia were indifferent; many of them thought the project inexpedient; some were not anxious that discipline should be exercised; others ceased upholding the integrity of the ministry by a dread of its effect upon their dissenting neighbors. The sub-title is: "An Appeal to the Public, in behalf of the Church of England in America wherein the original and nature of the Episcopal Office are briefly considered, Reasons for sending Bishops to America, are assigned, The Plan on which it is proposed to send them is stated and the objections against sending them are obviated and confuted: with an Appendix wherein is given some account of an Anonymous Pamphlet." The very simplicity and force of the style, the character of the reasoning, the lack of any bitterness towards the opponents of the Church of England made it at first respected even by those who would not yield their opposition. Dr. Chauncy was ready to answer, and in a few weeks his pen was again exercised to confute the arguments and cast ridicule upon those who wished for the proper establishment of the Church. He raised the cry of tyranny and oppression and sought to inflame the passions of the liberty-loving Americans.

His answer appeared early in 1768 as The Appeal to the Public Answered In Behalf of the Non Episcopal Churches in America; Containing Remarks on what Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler has advanced on the four following points: [1] The Original and Nature of the Episcopal

Office; [2] Reasons for sending Bishops to America; [3] The Plan on which it is proposed to send them; [4] And the objections against sending them obviated and refuted. Wherein the Reasons for an American Episcopate are shown to be insufficient and the objections against it in full force, Boston, 1768.

The reprinting of the "Appeal" in London, where it won the commendation of staunch Churchmen, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom it was dedicated, excited the furious anger of the London Chronicle and other nonconformist papers. The controversy upon the Episcopate was soon waged furiously in newspaper and pamphlet; all the wrath, malice and malignity of previous attacks were surpassed by the abuse now heaped upon Churchmen by writers under the name of the "American Whig" and others who remained anonymous. Dr. Chandler bore patiently all the scurrility and vulgarity that characterised these letters. He did not rush into print to defend the position he had taken except to insert an "advertisement" in the weekly papers, until Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet appeared. Without anger or ill feeling he reviewed its positions in The Appeal Defended: or the Proposed American Episcopate Vindicated, In Answer to the Objections and Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncy and Others, N. Y., 1769.

Therein he showed himself able to meet every argument advanced. Writing to the Secretary of the S. P. G. on Jan. 24, 1768, he said of the controversy: "The Friends of the Church here seem to have been universally pleased with my publication, and for a while the Dissenters appeared to be not unsatisfied. But at length, i.e. when they found that their application for a Charter of Incorporation in New York had been rejected by His Majesty in Council, they resolved upon a general Attack to be made from different Quarters.... Immediately upon the appearance of the American Whig I drew up a long advertisement to the Public, which I caused to be printed in all the papers in New York and Philadelphia remarking upon such a method of attacking a serious publication, assigning the reasons for my not choosing to engage with such an Antagonist in a weekly altercation--but at the same time assuring the Public that if God should continue my Health every argument and objection of my various opponents which should have

any appearance of reason to support it should be considered in due time, in a general defence of the Appeal.... Amidst this general outcry I am perfectly easy, and am not under the least anxiety with regard to the issue. These Assailants have injured themselves by overcharging and their attack has been conducted in such a manner that many of their Friends are ashamed of them. When I come to reply I am determined to proceed in the manner and temper of the Appeal, not disconcerted by any personal abuse--nor paying any regard to what every innocent and honest man ought to despise."²⁶

We turn now from controversy--from the strife of tongues--to speak of a measure of very great importance that at this time engaged the attention of many of the best-known clergy in the middle colonies. The small salaries paid to the missionaries left them without the ability to make any provision for their families after death. The distressing condition of many widows and orphans of clergymen led to the appointment at the meeting of the Voluntary Convention at Elizabeth Town in October, 1767, of a Committee "to frame some plan of provision for them." The Rev. Drs. Auchmuty, Cooper and Wm. Smith Provost, of the College and Academy of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Mr. Cooke of Shrewsbury, N. J., were appointed with power to draw up a scheme for the insurance of the lives of clergymen in the provinces of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. They reported at a largely attended Convention held at New Brunswick on Oct. 12, 1768, recommending the procuring of a Charter in each of the three provinces. The report was accepted, the Charters were readily passed by the respective Governors, and "on the first Tuesday after the Feast of S. Michael" (the day fixed), the first meeting of "The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America" was held. It was adjourned to Philadelphia where, in Christ Church on Tuesday, Oct. 10, divine Service was held and a sermon preached by the Rev. William Smith, D.D., the first clergyman named in the Charter. By it, the Rev. Richard Peters, D.D., rector of the united Churches of Christ and S. Peter, Philadelphia, became president. In 1806 the Corporation was dissolved by consent of the members, the seal solemnly broken, and three Corporations formed for the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which continue to the present day the benefits

that for more than a hundred years they have conferred upon widows and orphans. Dr. Chandler was the first Treasurer and the Rev. Jonathan Odell, Rector of S. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J., the first Secretary. Dr. Chandler was able materially to advance the interests of the Corporation in New Jersey and elsewhere. He preached the annual sermon in 1771 at the meeting in Perth Amboy--published soon after.²⁷ The peaceful tenor of Dr. Chandler's life was disturbed by the growth of a desire for independence in the colonies. The repeal of the Stamp Act did not restore confidence. The war of pamphlets against an American Episcopate left a bitterness toward the English Government and English Church that was ready at any moment when the exactions of the Ministers of the Crown were too galling to break out into violent and bloody opposition. Meanwhile the Doctor was able to report that his congregation was "one of the largest in this Province belonging to the Church; it contains not less than 100 Families, of which about 80 persons are Communicants, but they are scattered at such distances and many are so careless in attending that it seldom happens that we see more than two thirds of them together. In good Weather however the Church is well filled, and the appearance of the Congregation is more than commonly decent and orderly. I have always endeavored to discharge my duty towards them regularly and faithfully. My success has by no means answered my wishes; but I have not more reason to complain than most of my Brethren. I have hitherto had the happiness of living in the greatest peace with them, and I have no reason to suspect but it will still continue."²⁸ That there were many parts of the province where population was pouring in and where religion was utterly neglected and that much good might be done by visiting such sections, Dr. Chandler's previous zeal for the religious condition of the towns in his neighborhood, for the firm establishment of the mission at Trent's Town (now Trenton), made him aware. In November, 1769, he visited the picturesque Sussex County then in the progress of settlement, and gives under date of Jan. 5, 1770, this interesting account in a letter to the Secretary of the S. P. G.:

"Upon a representation of the Religious State of the New County of Sussex on the North Western part of this Province at the distance of about 50 miles from hence I thought it my Duty to make that People a Visit. I went up in No-

vember last, and spent a week there preaching daily from place to place. The County excepting one corner which is included in Mr. Frazer's²⁹ Mission, was a perfect wilderness in the time of the last War. There were indeed a few straggling Settlers in the Neighborhood of the River Delaware, which divides it from Pennsylvania; but some of them were killed and the rest driven away by the Savages. Those that were driven off have since returned, and many new Settlers have since been added, and the number of Familys now in the County is about 1500. Of these there are 50 families belonging to the Church exclusively of those which are in Mr Frazer's Mission; and they frequently assembled together in private houses on Sundays, where and when the Liturgy is read. The other inhabitants are a mixture of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers, with a few low Dutch; and many People of these different denominations appear to be well affected towards the Church. They are all very poor, as the first Settlers of a new Country generally are; and as they are unable to support the Public Worship in their different forms there is not a settled Minister of any denomination in the whole Country. They have many strolling illiterate Preachers among them, particularly the Baptists, and they are frequently visited by the Presbyterian ministers of the Neighboring Counties. But no Clergyman of the Church of England had ever been in those parts when I went thither."³⁰ It is pleasant to know that a missionary was sent into Sussex County and that the Church grew and flourished there.

The further progress of the debate upon the Episcopate is best told in the words of actors in the stirring scenes of those days when the hearts of many were failing them for fear, when misunderstanding and railing took the place of earnest endeavor to become acquainted with the designs of those whom they conscientiously opposed. Dr. Chandler writes in January, 1770, to say that Dr Chauncy had prepared a Reply to the "Appeal Defended," and again, in July, more at length. In this letter he speaks of his work as defender of the faith as held by the Church of England: "It affords me very great satisfaction to find by your letter that the Appeal Defended meets with the approbation of so able and candid a Judge. The Task I had to perform was very difficult in one respect; for the provocations and trials of Temper I had met with were so many and great that

I found it no easy thing to keep within the compass of decency, and to avoid rendering railing for railing. Notwithstanding that I was upon my guard, there are some few passages in which I could wish the expressions had been softened, altho' most of my Friends here think they are full soft enough.... It (Dr. Chauncy's Reply) was printed in January but I was not able to procure a copy of it until within a few weeks. It contains near 200 pages and is filled with Blunders and Sophistry as I expected. The Doctor does not recede one Inch from his former ground, and will not allow that I have established a single point which I attempted to defend, or abated the Force of any objection that I attempted to answer, and his brethren in and about Boston have again presented him their formal thanks in Convention for this last notable exploit. It is difficult to deal with such an Antagonist supported by such a party, who resolve that he shall have a public Ovation as often as he attacks the author of the Appeal. Enough I think has been said in defence of it; yet as matters are situated it seems necessary to rejoin, and the most judicious of my Friends say that I absolutely must. I shall however not undertake the Task immediately thinking it best to put off so hot a piece of work to a cooler season of the year. If I should bring on another Reply my subsequent Rejoinder shall be in the form of an admonition to Dr. Chauncy and his adherents."³¹ In the same letter he shows that his sympathies did not run in any narrow groove, and that he valued highly the efforts of a few devoted priests and laymen who had shown what could be done for the Christianising of the Indians. The Mohawk Mission had indeed given promise at times of abundant harvest; a few others besides those engaged in that work had undertaken works of charity, mercy and religious instruction among other tribes of Indians in various parts of the Country; but no comprehensive scheme for the conversion of the noble savage had been adopted. Dr. Wheelock's Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., was an experiment in the right direction. If the Church was able to do on a still larger scale what he had attempted, not only would the Indians be trained in moral and religious truth but their loyalty to the English Crown would be assured. Dr. Cooper and Mr. Inglis, then assistant minister of Trinity Church, N. Y., had recently undertaken a journey into the Mohawk Country, had consulted that staunch friend of the Indians and faithful Churchman, Sir William Johnson,

and were so impressed by what they saw, that Mr. Inglis drew up a memorial to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in which he outlined a plan for secular, industrial and religious education under the auspices of the English government.³² Dr. Chandler as an intimate friend knew of this intention and thus writes to the Secretary: "I know not how to conclude without saying a few words on the subject of converting our Indians. The necessity of some more general attempts for this purpose becomes every day more evident.... It will undoubtedly be difficult at first to find proper persons to engage in such a service; but the greatest difficulty of all I apprehend will be to support them. If the nation will not contribute to so good a work I beg leave humbly to suggest whether it might not be proper for the Society to erect a separate Fund for this use: whether a Brief might not be obtained for a General Collection throughout the Kingdom, the Income of which, when put out upon Interest shall be appropriated to the use of converting the American Heathens: and whether it is not probable that this with such benefactions as might be annually expected would be sufficient to support as many Missionaries, Catechists and School Teachers as the Society now maintains in Nova Scotia.³³ If such a number could be employed much success might be expected; at least a fair Trial would be made of what can be done; and a very great National reproach would in some measure be removed."³⁴

In June, 1771, he speaks of Mr. Inglis' being "in great forwardness" with the Memorial and explains that it urges political rather than religious motives for the action proposed, for "considerations of a Religious nature, it is feared will have little weight, at this day, with those who direct our public affairs; although the latter were thought to be not unworthy of the attention of Politicians in former ages. Enough has already appeared to convince unprejudiced persons, that it would have been true and sound policy with regard to America at least, if the Nation had paid greater attention to the Interest of Religion and the Church of England in the Colonies than it has hitherto done; and perhaps proofs still more strong and convincing may in time, be seen. The Dissenters of this Country in general to say nothing of their principles have evidently too much of a Republican Spirit, which is always infectious and in proportion as this prevails, Loyalty, as a matter of duty must

and will fail."³⁵

Strong and true words like these did not induce the ministry to listen favorably to the representations so often made of the wants of the Churchmen in America. The state of public feeling was against any favor being shown them. The representations of active, energetic agents of New England were more frequently heard and heeded than were the calm words of a Seabury, Johnson, Chandler or an Inglis written to those who might have gained the attention of the ministry. Dr. Chandler published at New York in 1771, under the title The Appeal farther Defended in answer to the Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncy, his rejoinder to A Reply to Dr. Chandler's Appeal Defended. With this judicious and temperate pamphlet the literary history of the long and pathetic struggle for an American Episcopate ended, although in letters of clergymen and addresses to the Bishop of London the necessity was still made prominent. In a playful letter to Dr. Johnson in reference to the second answer of Dr. Chauncy he says that the thanks of his brethren in smoking convocation were formally voted to him and the vote circulated through the country in all the newspapers.

Not long afterwards he and the whole body of English Churchmen were mourning the removal from them to Paradise of the soul of their dearly beloved and venerated brother, Samuel Johnson, who on the morning of the Epiphany, 1772, gently fell asleep in Jesus. It was felt that to him was due more than a monument of stone or brass. From his papers and correspondence, and especially from an Autobiography he had prepared, it was hoped that the story of his life and the great influence he had exerted for the advancement of the Church of England in the Colonies might be told. While there was still much irritation among many not of the Church of England over the Episcopate Controversy, while public affairs were in an unsettled and unsatisfactory condition, while the papers of the period were full of the most inflammatory appeals to the patriotism of the Americans and rejoinders from the friends of the government, yet Dr. Johnson's family thought that the eminent services he had rendered to the cause of Christian education and the promotion of true religion would not be forgotten. It was their wish (as represented by his son the well known patriot, jurist and statesman, the Hon. Wm. Samuel Johnson) that an adequate life of him be prepared.

The measures taken to secure this desideratum are told in the following letter to Dr. William Samuel Johnson:

Elizabeth Town Feb. 23d, 1773.

Dear Sir

Some time in the fall Mr. Inglis told me you had sent to New York some Mss. of your Father, leaving it to himself Dr. Cooper and me to judge of the propriety or usefulness of publishing them or anything from them.

My opinion of the Memoirs I had formed before, having seen them when I was in Stratford in 1768. It was partly on my request, frequently repeated, that your Father wrote them, and I think the valuable materials therein collected ought by no means to be lost to the Public. The Sermons I had never seen. I was two or three times in New York and proposed that Dr. Cooper, Mr. Inglis and myself should spend an evening together and read the papers and agree in what method to proceed with them. But Business, Company or something else always disappointed me. In November finding that nothing had been done, nor was likely to be done in New York; I desired Mr. Inglis to send me the papers which he accordingly did. I sat down immediately, and from the Memoirs drew up "The Life of Dr. Johnson, late President of King's College," in such form as I thought would best answer the Design with a pretty full character of the Doctor at the end of it and when I went over to New York about four weeks after I had received the papers, I surprised my associates in the Trust with a sight of the Life nearly finished. They appeared to well approve what I had done, and the method I had taken; and we then agreed that the Sermons should also be printed if a sufficient number of Subscribers could be procured. As I had not time myself I desired Mr. Inglis to write you, and to request that you would send me a copy of your Father's Diploma for his Doctor's Degree and the Tracts of Dr. Hodges in one of which I remember that he makes very honorable mention of your Father, and such Letters to him from the Bishops Gibson, Berkeley, Sherlock, or any others that you might think proper in order to embellish the Life. The Diplomas and an extract from Dr. Hodges I presume to be necessary; as to the rest

it is entirely submitted to your judgement.

I have inquired several times from Mr. Inglis but he has not heard from you in the manner expected. I must therefore now request that you will forward these things as soon as possible. I want to write the Life over again and insert every thing in its proper place when I shall be able to judge more exactly of its size. I believe it will amount to about 100 pages of the size and Letter of the Appeal and its Defences. I propose to issue out proposals for subscriptions both for the Life separately and for the Life with the Sermons; and if we can raise 500 Subscribers for both to print them together in a sizable 8^o; otherwise print the Life by itself. I was in hopes of making a journey into New England in the Spring and to consult you very particularly in the whole affair, but now I begin to prognosticate that I shall not be able to come. However I must see you if possible before I proceed. Do you not intend to visit New York yourself in the spring? If so let me have a few days notice, and I will meet you there any week that you shall appoint. For I can at almost any time go to New York although I can hardly ever go as far as New England. At least be so kind as to favor me with a line that I may know what to expect, not forgetting the Parchments. I have another work in hand which is nearly finished and will come forward in the spring, viz. A True Examination of the Critical Commentary in Archbishop Secker's Letter,"³⁶ undertaken partly on the Recommendation of Dr. Porteus and Mr. Apthorp, and with the Letter to Mr. Walpole to be suffixed to an American edition of the Life of the Archbishop by Dr. Porteus.

With compliments to Mrs. Johnson and your family and to Mr. Kneeland, and his,

I am with peculiar respect,
Yours affectionately
T. B. Chandler

Dr. Johnson.

P.S. Dr. Porteus and Mr. Apthorp say that the author of the Critical Commentary is well known but do not mention his name. Pray do you know who he is? You was in England at the time."³⁷

Dr. Johnson's answer, written after

some deliberating, expressed his uncertainty as to the publication: "On the one hand, I should be extremely glad to have anything published which would subserve the General interest of the Church of England, and tend to honor the memory of my father, and I know you will render whatever you publish as perfect and unexceptionable as possible. On the other hand the age is so captious, and so glutted with publications of every kind, and we have so many malicious adversaries working and watching for every circumstance of which they may take advantage, and upon which to ground a controversy or excite a clamor, that I am sometimes in doubt whether it be best to publish any thing of this kind or not."³⁸ The matter of publication remained undecided, and in June, 1774, Dr. Chandler wrote to Dr. Johnson expressing his disappointment at not seeing him on his return from Philadelphia the preceding winter so that he might have had the opportunity "to read over while together the 'Life' of your father which I had compiled a year before. If I could have consented to send it to the press without your inspection and examination, it would have been published long ago, but I have all along been impressed with a strong sense of your right to be consulted, and of the advantage which the work will receive from your correction and perhaps from your addition, which has hitherto and will still cause me to suppress it, till it can be honored with your imprimatur. As, therefore, I have no prospect of going your way, and hear not of your intending to come this way during the present summer, I have determined to send you, as I am like to have no opportunity of bringing, the rough copy of the 'Life' requesting you to examine it very closely, and to make such corrections upon any parts of it as may occur upon a careful perusal. I expect Mr. Beach³⁹ to call upon me in an hour or two in his way to New England by whom I propose to send it, and if you can be ready to return it by him, it will be so much the better."

In the same letter he mentions the publication of his "Free Examination, &c.," of which he sends a presentation copy. He informs Dr. Johnson that "A copy arrived in England about the beginning of April; and the Bishops etc., ordered the substance of my 'Free Examination' together with Sherlocks 'Memo-rial' to be immediately reprinted there, imagining it might be of service at that critical time when a plan was under con-

sideration for the future regulation of the Colonies."⁴⁰ Dr. Johnson submitted the manuscript to several of the judicious friends of his father for their opinion as to the expediency of publishing it. The Rev. John Beach a noble confessor of the Church of England, said that, "this day of rage and madness is not the most favorable for publications of this kind."⁴¹ Acting upon this opinion and others of a similar nature, late in the year 1774 Dr. Johnson returned the manuscript with a letter enclosing and endorsing Mr. Beach's opinion, and saying: "I am further confirmed in this idea from the insolent spirit which is lately excited against the professors of the Church of England, particularly throughout New England, from an apprehension that we are not sufficiently zealous in the cause of American liberty. A publication of this kind would on that account, I have no doubt, be particularly obnoxious at this juncture, and had better be postponed to some more favorable opportunity."⁴² The "draft" of the "Life," after crossing the Atlantic twice, was among the manuscripts left by Dr. Chandler, at his death. It was read with much attention by his son-in-law, the Rev. John Henry Hobart, then an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York City, and by him sent to the press of the well known church publishers, T. and J. Swords, who issued it in a small duodecimo volume, with an appendix containing a few of the letters to Dr. Johnson from Bishops and other dignitaries in England.⁴³ Mr. Hobart in his preface says "whatever tends to throw light upon them (the early annals of his country) should be deemed worthy of preservation." While Bishop Hobart was in England in 1824 the volume was reprinted in London. The "Life" is only a sketch and omits many matters of real importance; yet as the first American biography of an American Church-of-England clergyman it deserves particular notice. The style is plain and direct. We must judge the work not as the canons of literary criticism might specify, for it is from Dr. Chandler's letters shown to be only "a draft", but as the affectionate reminiscences of his friend and teacher by a pupil. Much matter that might have been used was rejected owing to the prejudices of the day and Dr. Chandler's distance from Stratford. The fuller, more elaborate and accurate "Life" by Dr. Beardsley calmly and judiciously weighs the merits, presents the picture of the foremost divine of the Church of England in the Colonies, and after the passage of a hundred years

assigns the place which Dr. Samuel Johnson should occupy in the Colonial Church. The hurried sketch of Dr. Chandler remains as a contemporary portrait and as an evidence of his literary facility.

The work of Dr. Chandler in his parish during this season of other labors for the Church was not allowed to be interrupted. In 1773, it was proposed to enlarge the Church building which was then called "one of the largest and most respectable in the province." The congregations were uniformly large. Many of the dissenters, so the doctor wrote, came to hear him, and in every way excepting the growth of a feeling of "independence upon the mother country," his position was pleasant and agreeable. His duties were punctually and faithfully done, and he had the happiness to see some fruit of his labors. In 1774, he wrote that "The Church in this Province makes a more respectable appearance than it ever did till very lately. Thanks to the Venerable Society! without whose charitable interposition there would not have been one Episcopal congregation among us. They have now no less than eleven missionaries in this district; none of whom are blameable in their conduct and some of them are eminently useful. Instead of the small buildings out of repair in which our congregations used to assemble 20 years ago, we have now several that make a handsome appearance both for size and decent ornament; particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick and Newark, and all the rest are in good repair; and the congregations in general appear to be as much improved as the churches they assemble in."

The gathering storm of the Revolution; the active and eager participation in discussions at coffee houses on the streets, in the weekly papers and by special appeals, in pamphlets, cries, warnings, addresses--made very uncomfortable the lives of those who were in favor of conciliation, in whom there was strong and real affection for the mother country. To them the divine right of Kings had been a firmly fixed principle, who by every tie of solemn and formal oath, community of interests, and adherence to the same spiritual truths, were bound to uphold the dignity and unity of the British Empire against those whom they considered factious malignants and rebels.

Dr. Chandler had thoroughly and conscientiously identified himself with the

cause of the Crown. His publications upon the Episcopate, his knowledge of the many subterfuges of the dissenting party, especially their lack of fairness in controversy, only made him the firmer in resisting by personal intercourse, and possibly by his pen, the progress of "the unnatural rebellion." While in Virginia and Maryland many of the clergymen were found among the patriots--while Muhlenburg and Griffith girded up their loins for the battle--while White and Provoost are ready to pray for "the United States of America" instead of "the King and Royal Family"--while Parker and Bass sustained the growth of national resistance to tyranny--while among the laity Washington and Henry, Schuyler and Duane, Jay and Madison, were among those who pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors" to secure the blessing of independence now and forever--while the signers of the immortal Declaration were principally members of the Church of England--yet there were honored names like Seabury and Inglis, Auchmuty and Cooper, Leaming and Beach, Chandler and Wilkins--names of men of intense and pure piety, of thorough devotion to duty, above mercenary considerations--who suffered for their keeping sacredly the oath of allegiance they had taken. From them property and position were taken away by the new government, because their motives were misunderstood. Only of late are they beginning to be granted by the calmer verdict of history the credit of having chosen their course without reference to any ultimate advantage from the British government. As true Americans we must think they were mistaken, that liberty of person, government by the people, of the people, and for the people, need not work unnumbered woes--need not bring in infidelity in religion, and corruption in morals.

It was early in the contest that an agreement was made by four friends who met frequently at each others' houses, and who had been prominent in the maintenance of true church principles against the attacks of dissenters in every form,⁴⁴ to watch all publications either in newspapers or pamphlets, and so to obviate the evil influence of such as appear to have a bad tendency by the speediest answers."

These four friends were the eloquent Samuel Seabury, then rector at Westchester, N. Y.; the scholarly Chandler; the sagacious Inglis; and the practical Wilkins, then a layman of wide influence

living on his estate at Castle Hill Neck, Westchester. He was afterwards the Rector of S. Peter's, Westchester, and President of the House of Deputies in the General Convention of 1811. From their close relations proceeded a formidable and intelligent opposition to the plans of the Sons of Liberty and the patriots in the colonial Assembly. The "Letters Of A Westchester Farmer," and "Thoughts upon the Late Continental Congress," and other pamphlets, made the popular indignation rise to fever heat. The weight of argument in them nearly turned the scale in favor of the English Government, until the brilliant answers of "A Friend of America" restored confidence in the justice of the American claims and gained the approval of the Provincial Assembly for measures looking toward independence. The brilliance of Seabury and Wilkins was equalled by a young student of King's College, then just finishing his course, Alexander Hamilton, from whose ready pen poured forth sarcasm, wit, argument, invective and appeal.

The vigilance of the "Sons of Liberty" soon led them to suspect the four friends. Mr. Wilkins was violently assaulted, Dr. Cooper, Mr. Seabury and Dr. Chandler were threatened, and even their lives were in great danger. In the old Wilkins' mansion on Castle Hill Neck could long be seen a chamber, carefully constructed around the large central chimney, and entered from a dark closet, where Dr. Chandler, Dr. Cooper, and Mr. Seabury often concealed themselves when the committees of safety and bands of armed patriots searched for them.⁴⁵

In his own parish Dr. Chandler found that his friends and parishioners were active in all the steps taken to secure national liberty. They were members of Congress, they were on Committees of Correspondence, and they were in attendance at meetings called to resist the tyranny and insults of the English Government. Jonathan Hampton, one of the vestry of St. John's Church, was chairman of the Committee of Observation. Matthias Williamson, another vestryman, was appointed General in command of the American forces stationed in Elizabeth Town and at the Point. John De Hart was a councillor of the State and was chosen its Chief Justice under the governorship of the Hon. William Livingston, the chief writer of the American Whig, whose home was in Elizabeth Town; John Chetwood, another member of the Vestry, was one of the State Committee of Correspondence.⁴⁶

The town was garrisoned by the State Troops and was an important post during the whole Revolution. It was subject to attack constantly by the British troops stationed on Staten Island. It suffered severely during the seven years of the war, and at one time in the winter of 1780 (January 25) was invaded by the British Army, and the Presbyterian Meeting House was burned. In such a community, holding the opinions he did, Dr. Chandler could remain with neither honour or safety. He could not hold services and omit the Prayers for the King and Royal Family as many of the congregation wished. To allow the church to be closed was a bitter grief. To determine to leave his family and seek refuge in England was a still greater trial.

In May, 1775 after the firing of "the shot heard round the world" at Lexington and Concord, when the latent patriotism of many was fully aroused, Dr. Chandler was subjected to much insult and personal abuse. It was thought that he was the author of "The Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans"--that he was largely the author of the "Letters of a Westchester Farmer"--and for this reason he was specially named as a person dangerous to the liberties of America, ordered to be seized and imprisoned and made to answer for his conduct. The best historical writers upon this period, however, do not find evidence that Dr. Chandler actually wrote any of these pamphlets. The "Friendly Address" was from the pen of President Cooper, and the "Letters," as we have seen, although attributed to Isaac Wilkins, were written by Samuel Seabury.⁴⁷

For this reason in the early part of May he left his wife and children, journeyed to New York, where only five days before the house of his friend President Cooper had been attacked and plundered, and the President had barely escaped with his life through a rear door, while Alexander Hamilton kept the infuriated mob absorbed with one of his impassioned speeches. Cooper reached the river bank, where he was speedily rowed to a British warship, then lying in the Hudson river.⁴⁸

The story of Chandler's departure for England is best told in his own words (now for the first time published) in a small, bound memorandum book which he kept as a diary while in England. After crossing the ocean and having been read by various friends this volume has finally through the gift of one of his

descendants,⁴⁹ found a home in the Library of the General Theological Seminary. It is important and interesting, illustrating a portion of our church history that has been somewhat obscure and showing that while an exile, Dr. Chandler continued to think about and labor for those he had left in his native land. Its first entry is Monday, May 15, 1775: "Having been often threatened by the Sons of Liberty: for having been supposed to have written on the side of the Government, and having received intimations from my friends that I was in much personal danger, I went to New York, taking some articles of necessary apparel with me, that might serve in case I should not be able to return. On coming to New York I found everything in the utmost confusion, and the Friends of the Government under the severest persecution. I therefore lodged at Mr. Kempe's⁵⁰ the attorney general, as a place unsuspected and less liable to insults than where I commonly used to lodge in the City." [Tues., May 16:] "I found that the turbulent Faction which had assumed the Government of the City were making inquiries after me, and determined to pay me a visit. I therefore ventured abroad but little and cautiously, and it was recommended to me by my friends to secure a passage for England. In the evening I contracted with Capt. Joseph Winder for a passage to Bristol in the Ship Exeter and staid that night at Mr. Kempe's."

Before leaving home, Doctor Chandler had received a communication from the Hon. John Pownall, under Secretary of State, dated April 5th 1775, in which he said: "I am directed by the Earl of Dartmouth to acquaint you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased from a consideration of your merit and services to signify His commands to the Lords Commissioners of Treasury that they do make an allowance to you of such Funds as their Lordships shall think proper of two hundred Pounds per annum, the said allowance to commence from the first of January last."⁵¹ It was this unexpected provision for his support, when his salary from his parish should be cut off, that made him less anxious about the welfare of his family while he was compelled to be absent from them. On the following day, May 17, he writes: "Kept close at Mr. Kempe's; but having received a polite invitation from Capt. James Montague who understood my situation I went on board his Majesty's Ship King Fisher as the only place of safety near New York, Mr. Wetherhead assisting me in my

embarkation." On Friday, May 19, he makes this record: "In expectation of meeting the Packet from England, and with a design to secure the mail, Capt. Montague sailed to Sandy Hook, with a Postmaster General on board besides Dr. Cooper and Mr. Rivington"⁵² who as well as myself were proscribed for their loyalty. "On Saturday our Ship the Exeter came down to the Hook and Dr. Cooper and I shifted our lodgings to the Exeter to be ready for our voyage. There we were kindly received by our friends Mr. Cooke⁵³ and Captain Kearney who were to be our fellow passengers."

The anxious company of travelers was obliged to wait until Thursday, May 25, the Feast of the Ascension, for a proper wind, when "we put to sea in the morning, turning out to sea with a head wind in company with more than 20 vessels most of which were bound to European parts. We saw the "Asia," of 64 Guns, from Boston going to the Hook, and come to an anchor, at evening the land appeared to be distant about six leagues."⁵⁴

The voyage was a long one of nearly six weeks. For the first ten days Dr. Chandler writes, "The weather was generally very fine, the winds light, but in our favor, from that time the weather has been rough and either rainy or foggy." On June 24, he records: "The winds and seas high for the season and the weather cold and misty." "...having sounded for four days past to no purpose, this day we found Bottom in 65 fathoms, some of our people having seen, as they supposed, Cape Clear in the morning, at a distance of ten leagues on our Starboard Quarter." Two days later: "...at four in the morning we had a sight of Lundy at a great distance right ahead." On the same day they took a pilot, but "were only able by the evening to get up between Lundy and Hartland Point where we anchored to save the tide." The next morning, July 1, they weighed anchor, "the weather being calm." "Off Barnstaple Bay we saw near us on the water a large Tortoise of the Loggerhead kind: a sight unexampled in the Bristol Channel." On Sunday morning, July 2, at four o'clock, the weary travelers "had the pleasure of coming to an anchor in King Road; from whence we immediately went up by water to Bristol, where we breakfasted at the White Hart Inn. I attended morning service at S. Stephen's Church, hoping to find there the Rector, my friend, Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester but he was not in town. I attended service at the Cathedral and

afterward waited upon Mr. Cruger."

Three days were spent with friends in Bristol examining the "Curiosities of the City," to use Dr. Chandler's own phrase, and in visiting the beautiful environs of that interesting town so associated in the affections of every American as the port from which many of his ancestors sailed to make a home in the newly discovered continent. On Thursday July 6, "Dr. Cooper and I set out in the morning for London, in one of the new carriages called a Diligence and passing through the Towns of the Devizes, Marlborough, Newburg, Reading, Maidenhead, etc. and by many fine seats, particularly Lord Molesworth's Clifden House belonging to the Earl of Inchiquin, etc. we arrived in the evening at Mr. Vardill's⁵⁵ in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, where lodgings were provided for us, after a days journey of more than 107 miles."

On Saturday July 8, Dr. Chandler waited on the Archbishop at Lambeth. The saintly Secker had gone to his rest in the summer of 1768, and the Rt. Rev. Frederick Cornwallis, who had been successively Dean of St. Paul's, London, and Bishop of Lichfield had succeeded him. Dr. Chandler mentions briefly his visit at this time, learning from the "Diary" that he became an honored guest and received the kindest consideration both from Archbishop Cornwallis, and his successor, Dr. Moore, during his residence in England. In the early weeks after his arrival he was introduced to many persons high in official life. He mentions particularly the Solicitor General, Mr. Wedderburne; Mr. Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury; Mr. Pownal, Secretary to the Board of Trade, by whom he "was treated with distinguished kindness." He had a half hour's interview with Lord North upon American affairs. "His Lordship seems firmly resolved to support the sovereignty of the nation, yet sorry to be obliged to exert the national strength, and desirous to see the disputes honorably compromised." On Friday July 21, he waited on the Society and was most kindly received. On Friday August 4, he dined with the Archbishop at Lambeth "in company with Charles Townsend, Esq. one of the Lords of the Treasury &c. "Was treated with the most cordial kindness, was shown by his Grace all his gardens, and by his Lady all the rooms belonging to the Palace. In the garden saw the grand Fig-Tree which was planted by Cardinal Pole." On Saturday August 12, in company with Dr. Cooper

and Mr. Wilkins he went to Oxford, where he was shown all the respect and attention given to distinguished visitors. He speaks briefly yet with evident pleasure of that ancient seat of sound learning with all its historic and scholastic associations. The heads of College welcomed him, the Bishop of Oxford Dr. Robert Lowth called upon him, and when at the end of two weeks he departed from the City of Oxford, he left many friends there. The details of his life in England will be found in the Diary to which this sketch serves as an introduction. Only a few of the more important events of the ten years of his residence in England need to be mentioned.

Taking lodgings in London, Dr. Chandler in concert with his friend Mr. Wilkins, began to devise plans for "persuading the Government if possible to make such proposals to the Americans as they can consistently with their principles accept of. Mr. W. to prepare a scheme of proposal." It was his forcible pleading and representation of the sufferings of the American clergymen who had been driven from their parishes by the Continental Army that won the sympathy and contributions of many in England through a subscription headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prominent members of the S. P. G. The "Charity Fund," as it was called, was dispensed on the recommendation of Dr. Chandler, and the bills of exchange drawn upon it by clergymen were to have the endorsement: "Advice has been given to the Rev'd. Dr. Chandler."

Although there was danger for a loyalist to communicate with America, and only New York and Philadelphia were at any time safe ports for letters from England, yet by every opportunity he sent letters to his wife, children and American friends, both by private hands, by packet ships, and by English war ships. The entry after a list of persons to whom he has written often is: "This packet was taken." He was able to remit through safe channels a sufficient portion of his income for the comfortable support of his family. It is to the honor of the American Army that through all the war, and during the stirring scenes in Elizabeth Town, Mrs. Chandler and her daughters, in spite of their pro-British sympathies, were free from insult and molestation, although in March, 1779, Gen. Maxwell of the New Jersey Line complained that she had given intelligence to British officers.^{55a} Dr. Chandler

had the pleasure of occasionally welcoming his son to his London lodgings and of being cheered by the news he brought from home. (The son had risen to be a captain in the New Jersey British Volunteers.) He continued working for what he thought the real good of his countrymen, fostering in every way the long delayed bestowal of the Episcopate upon America, being largely employed in careful reading and study, becoming acquainted with London when fashion and pomp were at their height, transmitting now to the clergy of Connecticut through the Rev. Mr. Seabury the unofficial opinion of the Archbishops and Bishops upon the expediency of omitting the Prayers for the King and Royal Family, again sending to his dear friends Messrs. Seabury and Inglis their Diplomas from the University of Oxford as Doctors of Divinity;⁵⁶ and remembering his friends with little gifts of English papers, books and articles they could not procure at their homes. Dr. Chandler's years of exile were not unprofitably spent. The small scar left on the side of his face by the small pox in 1758 had developed into a cancerous infection which disturbed his general health. After taking a "course of sarsaparilla" and consulting eminent physicians without benefit, he spent the summer of 1781 in the Isle of Wight, living (so Dr. Sprague states on the authority of Dr. Chandler's daughter, Mrs. Wm. Dayton) almost entirely upon goats' milk.⁵⁷

When the treaty of peace had been signed between the United States and Great Britain, and ratified by both powers on Sept. 3, 1783 at Paris, it was confidently expected by his family, parishioners and friends that Dr. Chandler would return to his home and parish. An affectionate letter from the Wardens and Vestry of St. John's church was sent to him at this time asking him to return and resume the duties of the rectorship. The Rev. Dr. Rudd⁵⁸ in his historical sketch of St. John's says: "To this request the answer was that he had not been able to make up his mind as to the course he should ultimately find it his duty to pursue; but from the state of his health it was not at all probable that he could discharge the duties required by the parish."⁵⁹ With rare patience and affection the vestry would not elect another rector but made arrangement with the Rev. Uzal Ogden, then Rector of Trinity Church, Newark, N. J., for his services one half the time.⁶⁰

When the brave Samuel Seabury arrived

in England in quest of the Episcopate, Dr. Chandler was able to aid him by his intimate relations with the Archbishops and Bishops, to cheer him in his many hours of loneliness and depression, and to renew in London the pleasant intercourse they had enjoyed in New York, which according to the Rev. Dr. Berrian, a relative of Dr. Chandler, was often continued until daybreak,⁶¹ and continued by letter during the Revolution.

When the war ended, the brightest jewels in Britain's crown had been lost. The passion and prejudice that prevented justice to real grievances still prevailed sufficiently to deter the Archbishops and Bishops of the English Church from granting the petition of Connecticut and the consecrating of Samuel Seabury. To that portion of America that still remained faithful to the British crown and particularly to Nova Scotia, many clergymen and families had fled from the northern colonies of America. Nova Scotia was essentially an American settlement. Here a Bishop could be placed, the funds gathered by the friends of an American Episcopate in past years and the legacies that had been accumulating would serve as the nucleus of an endowment. In 1767 Dr. Chandler states in his Appeal £4700 had been "put into the public funds and [had] been accumulating ever since." It had been a favorite project with the refugees and with the loyal clergy of New York and New Jersey, and some in Connecticut, that a Bishop should be sent to Nova Scotia--a man who understood the character of those over whom he was to be shepherd, a man of competent learning and sound judgment. The difficulties in the way from the slow method of carrying on any ecclesiastical matter through Parliament were great, but not as formidable as the bestowal of the Episcopate upon the free and independent United States. With one voice Dr. Chandler was named as the most suitable in every respect to be the first Bishop of the Church of England upon American soil.

In the letters written by the New York clergy, and those who had been to that city during the war--the associates, friends and neighbors of Dr. Chandler--commending Dr. Seabury, we find this passage:

"We take this opportunity to inform your grace that we have consulted his excellency Sir Guy Carleton on the subject of procuring the appointment of a

Bishop for the province of Nova Scotia, on which he has expressed to us his entire approbation and has written to the administration warmly recommending the measure. We took the liberty at the same time of mentioning our worthy brother, the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler, to his excellency as a person every way qualified to discharge the duties of the Episcopal office in that province with dignity and honor. And we hope for your grace's approbation of what we have done in that matter, and for the concurrence of your influence with Sir Guy Carleton's recommendation in promoting the design. We should have given this information sooner to your grace but that we waited for Doctor Seabury's departure for England, which we considered as affording the best and most proper conveyance. If Dr. Chandler and Doctor Seabury should both succeed, as we pray God they may, we trust that with the blessing of Heaven the Episcopal Church will yet flourish in this western hemisphere. With the warmest sentiments of respect and esteem, we have the honor to be, My Lord, Your Grace's most dutiful and obedient humble servants,

Jeremiah Leaming, D.D.

Charles Ingles, D.D.

Rector of Trinity Church, New York.

Benjamin Moore, D.D.

Assistant Minister of Trinity Church
New York and others.

His Grace the Archbishop of York."⁶²

A letter nearly identical, of the same date (New York, May 24, 1783) was written to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The see became vacant by the death of Archbishop Cornwallis on March 19, 1783, and intelligence of the translation from Bangor to the primatial see of the Rt. Rev. Dr. John Moore had not reached New York. The Archbishop of York was the Most Rev. William Markham, a friend of the American Church, who had been consecrated for Chester on Feb. 17, 1771, and translated to the Archiepiscopal see of York on the death of the Most Rev. Robert H. Drummond in December, 1776.

Dr. Seabury in his letter to the clergy of Connecticut and to his friends in New York informed them not only of his own prospects but also occasionally mentioned the progress toward the accomplishment of the Nova Scotia Episcopate. In a letter to Dr. Leaming from London, Sept. 3, 1783, he says: "Dr. Chandler's appointment to Nova Scotia will, I believe, succeed. And possibly he may go

thither this autumn or at least early in the spring."⁶³ He writes on May 3, 1784, to the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, Secretary of the Connecticut Convention (his successor as Bishop) detailing some of the strange and unforeseen obstacles to his consecration that were raised by the Archbishops and Bishops, and in mentioning an interview that he had with the Archbishop of Canterbury says: "Dr. Chandler has been with him (the Archbishop) today on the subject of the Nova Scotia Episcopate which I believe will be effected."⁶⁴ The wearisome and vexatious delays to which Dr. Seabury was subjected led his friends to seek in other channels than the English Episcopate for consecration for him, from another body of Catholic Christians that had preserved the Apostolic succession. The Rev. Jonathan Boucher, one of the exiled American Clergymen, and an intimate friend of both Seabury and Chandler addressed some inquiries to Bishop Cartwright, then practising as a physician at Schrewsbury,⁶⁵ and the head of the rapidly dwindling body of non-jurors in England under the irregular succession derived through Bishop Thomas D. Becon. Dr. Cartwright's answer is addressed to Dr. Chandler in which he offers in connection with his colleague Bp. Price to consecrate Dr. Seabury. Happily the Catholic remainder of the Church of Scotland was ready to confer upon the new world "An Episcopacy free, valid and purely ecclesiastical." It was Dr. Chandler's happiness to see bestowed what he had so eloquently and urgently defended and sought for his native land in Aberdeen, five hundred and twenty miles from London. In the midst of his joy at Dr. Seabury's success he was called to endure a great sorrow. His son who was visiting him in London, was suddenly taken ill and the sorrowing father makes this sad record in his diary: "1784 Oct. 22nd. This day my only son died at ten minutes after 2 o'clock P.M., after an illness of 7 days having come into the world May 7th, 1756. God's will be done."

The father's thoughts now turned longingly homewards. He had accomplished much while in England towards a better understanding between English and American Churchmen. He and Dr. Seabury had prepared the way for the future act authorising the consecration of Bishops for countries not under the British rule. He welcomed Bishop Seabury on his return from Scotland, entrusted him with letters to their friends in Nova Scotia and

the United States, arranged his affairs in England, bade good-bye to the friends he had made there, and only lingered for a favorable issue regarding the Nova Scotia Episcopate. While thus waiting he received a letter from the Rt. Rev. John Skinner, Coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen, one of the consecrators of Bishop Seabury and the preacher at that eventful service, inquiring how he could best send some copies of his sermon to Bishop Seabury and inviting further correspondence upon the action in which the Scottish Church had engaged, and more detailed information concerning Bishop Seabury which an old friend like Dr. Chandler might have. "I shall think myself," says Bp. Skinner, "highly obliged to you for any intelligence respecting him or his affairs which you may be pleased to communicate."⁶⁶

Dr. Chandler's answer is dated London, April 23, 1785: "About three days ago, I was honored with your very friendly and obliging letter of the first instant. I feel myself greatly indebted to my excellent friend, Bishop Seabury, for having mentioned me in such a manner as to occasion the offer of so reputable a correspondence as is presented in your letter; and were I to remain in a situation that favored it, I should embrace it with all thankfulness. But I am soon to embark for America, and for a part of it where, during my continuance there, I shall be unable to answer your expectations.

charge whenever I might be called for, which I promised in case my health should admit of it. Accordingly, I have engaged a passage in a ship bound to New York, which is obliged to sail by this day fortnight. By this migration you can be no loser, if you will be pleased in my stead to adopt for your correspondent the Rev. Mr. Boucher of Paddington, a loyal clergyman from Maryland, the worthiest of the worthy, and one of the most confidential friends of Bishop Seabury."⁶⁷

The Rev. Charles Wesley wrote to Dr. Chandler, shortly before his sailing for home, a letter detailing in an interesting manner his personal history and giving a short sketch of the Methodist Society to that time. In it he strongly deprecated the schismatical act of his brother John in setting apart Thomas Coke, D.D., and Francis Asbury as superintendents of the Methodists in America. It has been quoted several times in the discussion of the Methodist Episcopate (so called).⁶⁸ Its opening sentence is pathetic: "London April 28, 1785./ Revd. and dear sir:/ As you are setting out for America and I for a more distant country, I think it needful to leave with you some account of myself and my companions thro' life." On April 21, 1785, Chandler made the following record in Diary: "This day obtained the Abps. consent to cross the Atlantic on a visit to my family."

You may, perhaps, have heard that after having been separated eight years from my family, which I left in New Jersey, I have been detained here two years, with the prospect of being appointed to the superintendency of the Church in our new country. This business, though the call for it is most urgent, is still postponed; and it appears to be in no greater forwardness now than it did a year ago. In the mean while I am laboring under a scorbutic disorder, which renders a sea-voyage and change of climate immediately necessary. I therefore thought proper to wait upon the archbishop a day or two since, to resign my pretensions to the Nova Scotia Episcopate that I might be at liberty to cross the Atlantic and visit my family, consisting now of a most excellent wife and three amiable daughters. His Grace would not hear of my giving up my claim to the above-mentioned appointment, but readily consented to my visiting my family, on condition that I would hold myself in readiness to undertake the important

He left England bearing the good wishes of all who knew him. To the little company of American clergymen which then included Dr. Inglis, Mr. Boucher, Mr. Duché and others, his departure was a real grief. He was regarded by them as their leader and counsellor, and they sorrowed most of all because they might see his face no more. To the men of learning and ability he had been a chosen companion. They had found him a scholar well furnished. To the dignitaries of the Church he had explained matters concerning the history of the Church in America that made them better able to deal with the important requests that would be made to them. His diary thus records his voyage to New York: "1785, May 16th. I left London and went to Gravesend, the next day embarked in the Mentor for New York; at night ship waited for the tide off Raulven; the 18th passed the Downs without dropping anchor; on the 24th passed the Lizard; on the 25th took our departure for the Scylla Islands, and after a disagreeable passage of 55 days from Gravesend

landed at New York on the 11th of July." He was warmly welcomed by those of his friends and parishioners whom the vicissitudes of war and the changes of ten years had spared. It was a happiness to be once more with his wife and daughters and by their loving care to be cherished and refreshed. The state of his health would not permit him to officiate as frequently as his parishioners had hoped he might. He was obliged to content himself with sharing the work with the Rev. Uzal Ogden, with whom the parish arranged for half time. Dr. Chandler retained the rectorship and the use of the parsonage. He had returned to America when the first steps were being taken towards the organization of the American Church and when the various states were calling Conventions that would choose delegates to a General Convention. He was a careful observer of the proceedings although his infirmities did not allow him to be an active participant in them. In a letter written to the Rev. Dr. White of Philadelphia from "Elizabethtown Sept. 2d, 1785." he communicated letters from Bp. Seabury for Drs. White and Smith, and spoke of his regret at not being present at the General Convention: "As the time of your Continental Convention now approaches I doubt not but you and the other friends of the Church in general are beginning to grow very anxious about the event. For the fate of the Episcopal Church in America will, in a great measure, depend upon the deliberations and decisions of that general meeting. On this account I could wish to be present at a consultation of such capital importance; and indeed upon my late arrival from England, I found I had been chosen as one of the Representatives of the Church in this state on the grand occasion; but such is my situation with regard to a scorbutic, corrosive disorder with which I have been long troubled, that I fear it will be impossible for me to accept the commission by a personal attendance."⁶⁹ He then details with clearness, force and vigor his apprehensions concerning the prominent part taken by the laity in the State Conventions, their being allowed equal voice with the clergy in the organization of the Church when no Bishop was in the state to preside, "the divesting Bishops of their proper and essential authority, and making them subject to their own Presbyters, &c., &c. The Church is a society founded by Christ; all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction must be derived from him, and not from any natural rights, &c.;--This authority

he was pleased to lodge in the hands of certain officers of his appointment, to be communicated to their successors;--those, therefore, who are not officers in the Church, i e. The laity, can have no share of ecclesiastical authority, and as to the other point: If the Bishops are not allowed to govern the Church, the Church is not under Episcopal government, and cannot be Episcopal; but is under the government of those who govern the Bishops." He expresses his hope "that the above points will be thoroughly discussed at the ensuing General Convention in the spirit of peace, unity and concord. May the great founder and head of the Church, who has promised to be always with it to the end of the world prosper consultations and bring them to a happy issue."⁷⁰ This strong and wise letter deserves the careful consideration of every Churchman, for its words are those of truth and soberness, and the lapse of a century has not detracted from their value.

On December 28, 1785, after the sessions of the Philadelphia Convention, which assembled in the historic Christ Church from September 27 to October 7, in answer to a letter from Dr. William Samuel Johnson requesting the return of the autobiography and other manuscripts of his father, Dr. Chandler gives his thoughts upon the Virginia and Philadelphia Conventions. After apologizing for keeping the manuscripts and mentioning the difficulty of collecting his scattered papers, he makes this touching allusion to his return home: "To a person of my disposition, and situation, it was impossible, for a considerable while after I got home to attend to any matters of business, excepting that kind of business mentioned by Sir. T More." He returns the Journal of the Virginia Convention with this comment: "A curiosity indeed it is for it exhibits such a motley mixture of Episcopacy, Presbytery and Ecclesiastical Republicanism as before was never brought together and incorporated and must surprise the whole Christian world." Upon the General Convention he says: "The proceedings of the Convention in Philadelphia which is to be considered as a kind of Oecumenical Council, were much in the same style, though not so wild and intemperate. In their address to the English Archbishops, they say that it is 'their earnest desire and resolution to retain the venerable form of Episcopal government;' and yet they have placed their Church under a government that is evidently Presby-

terian. Conventions, consisting of ministers and lay-elders, or messengers (no matter by what name they are called) are to meet without the call or license of the Bishop; it does not appear that he is to have any negative upon their proceedings, or even to preside ex officio; and in case of his delinquency he is to be arraigned before the tribunal of his own presbyters, etc. who have a power to displace him. They expect the Bishops in England to countenance this new fangled Episcopate; but, from what I know of them, I can hardly believe that they will be aiding to a scheme formed with a design to degrade the Episcopal order by depriving it of that authority which it has ever claimed and exercised as an essential and unalienable right since the time of the Apostles. In Connecticut the Church has proceeded upon other maxims and merits the approbation and applause of all the friends of genuine Episcopacy."⁷¹

When the Convention of New Jersey met at Perth Amboy on May 16, 1786, it viewed with grave doubts and much apprehension the radical measures at Philadelphia. So intense was the feeling that a Memorial was drawn up and presented to the meeting of the General Convention at Philadelphia on June 20, 1786, dated at "Perth Amboy, May 19th, 1786," and signed by "Abraham Beach, President." Its reception by the Convention is thus described by that careful writer and patriarch of the American Church, Bishop White, in his "Memoirs of the Church":

"There was another incident which contributed to render the proceedings of the Convention temperate; because it must have convinced them that the result of considerable changes would have been the disunion of the Church. The incident alluded to, was the reading of a memorial from the Convention in New Jersey, approving of some of the proceedings of the late General Convention but censuring others, and soliciting a change of counsels in those particulars. The memorial as was conjectured at the time, and as the author afterward learned with certainty was drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Chandler of Elizabethtown. This learned and respectable gentleman, after having been in England during the war, had returned to his family and former residence; laboring under a cancerous or scorbutic complaint, which had consumed a considerable portion of his face.... The same cause rendered it impossible for him to take an active part in the

organizing of the American Church. The author has no doubt, that his letter, written on the present occasion was among the causes which prevented the disorganizing of it." Bishop White prints the memorial in full in an appendix to the "Memoirs". His "certainty" as to the authorship of the memorial has been disputed by those who have investigated the course of the Conventions of New Jersey in 1785 and 1786, none of which Dr. Chandler was able to attend. While reflecting the opinions of true Churchmen in New England, New York, and New Jersey, the memorial was presented to the Convention of New Jersey by a committee consisting of the Hon. John De Hart of Elizabethtown, the Hon. James Parker of Perth Amboy, and Mr. Matthias Halstead of Elizabethtown, after the rejection of one presented by a larger committee of five. While in tone and language it has the vigor of Dr. Chandler, yet the positive evidence of letters still extant make it extremely incredible that he was even consulted in its preparation.⁷² The "letter" referred to must have been either that previously quoted or one written to Dr. White which has not been preserved. Dr. White was too precise and careful to speak of a formal document like the "Memorial" as a "letter". So that while he was not the author of the formal protest, his influence for good was felt and recognized by the Convention. Thanks be to Almighty God that in the hour of peril and danger, when lukewarmness, lack of liturgical knowledge, and an insufficient appreciation of the Catholic heritage of the Church of England, were causing some in her general councils to depart essentially in doctrine, discipline, and worship from the mother Church, men like Seabury and Leaming, Beach and Chandler, Moore and Parker, New Jersey laymen, and others like minded were able by their wise, patient and loving words to preserve for us primitive truth and apostolic order.

It was probably in the spring of 1786, that Dr. Chandler received from the Archbishop of Canterbury the summons to return to England and be consecrated as the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, for the last entry in his "diary" is: "1786, April 5 Wrote by this day's mail to the Abp. of Canterbury Dr. Inglis Dr. Morice." It is more than likely that the letter then written was a formal declination of the offered Bishopric, which the state of his health did not permit him to accept. The Rev. Dr. Berrian says of the Archbishop's reply:

"He received from him a very kind and courteous reply, expressing his respect for his character, and his regret for his affliction, and begging him to point out some suitable person who might be appointed in his place."⁷³ Dr. Chandler suggested that the Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D., his intimate friend, a sound theologian, an able preacher, a faithful parish priest, who had suffered for his loyalty to Church and Crown, be appointed. Dr. Inglis was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on Sunday, August 12, 1787, by the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Moore) and the Right Reverend the Bishops of Rochester (John Thomas) and Chester (Bielby Porteus). He fully justified the wisdom of Dr. Chandler, for he made an admirable pioneer Bishop, laying broad and deep foundations for the future upbuilding of the church both in Canada and in the Maritime Provinces.⁷⁴

Dr. Chandler spent the few remaining years of his life in the happy companionship of his family and a few intimate friends. Tokens of the regard and appreciation of his parishioners were frequently received. The veteran's work for God and his Church was done. He was calmly to wait for the end, assured that the passing events in church and state were being shaped by wise judgments. His painful disease allowed him to officiate only infrequently. There are few entries in his handwriting in the register of St. John's after his return. The last trace is a resolution instructing the delegates from St. John's Church to the Convention of New Jersey in 1789 "to move for and promote a coalition of all Protestant Bishops in the United States," which was adopted at the Easter meeting of the Parish in 1789.⁷⁵ He solemnised five marriages, one of them being that of his daughter, Elizabeth Catharine, to Gen. Elias B. Dayton, on Jan. 19th, 1786.⁷⁶

On his return from the memorable Convention at Philadelphia in October, 1789, Bishop Seabury visited Dr. Chandler and was able to tell him of the wise concessions by which the union of the church throughout the United States had been secured. He could in his graphic manner detail to his old friend the courage, good sense and amiability of Bishop White, the courtesy and ready adaptability of Dr. William Smith and all those matters of inner and secret history which so largely influence action and which tradition alone preserves. To see the good state of the Catholic Church in this land and to know that she

had not in any way denied the faith were joyous assurances to the faithful soldier who by this time was obliged to be among those who could only view from afar the battle for Christ and his Church.

By the early summer of 1790, the cancer had done its work, and on Thursday June 17, the soul of Thomas Bradbury Chandler entered into the rest of Paradise. On Saturday June 19, his body was borne to the church wherein he had so long ministered, mourned by his own parishioners and the whole town. The burial service was read by the Bishop of New York, the Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost, and by the Rev. Samuel Spraggs, incumbent of St. John's, Dr. Chandler's successor in the rectorship. A sermon from the text: "O death where is thy sting, O grave where is thy victory!" (1 Cor. 5) was preached by the Rev. Dr. Beach, then an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, an old and valued friend, and for many years his neighbor at New Brunswick. The pall bearers were the Bishop of New York, the Rev. Drs. Benjamin Moore and Abraham Beach, and the Rev. Meury Uzal Ogden (Rector of Trinity Church, Newark), Richard Moore (Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Richmond, Staten Island, afterward the Bishop of Virginia), and George Ogilvie (Rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, N. J.). Dr. Rudd says of his burial place: "His grave is here in the body of this church, to which he had devoted his time and talents."⁷⁷

He had lived to see accomplished what he had so long pleaded for, an American Episcopate both in the United States and the British provinces--the American church united and heartily at work, the beginning of that constant progress which has made her the marvel of the Church of England. He knew not that his son-in-law⁷⁸ would give an onward impulse to the church and that a great-grandson⁷⁹ would be the first Bishop specially consecrated for work among the Indians of the then unknown West, or that his own parish of St. John would become a mother of Churches. He could not have foreseen that the few missions in the Jerseys would, in less than a hundred years, become two dioceses, strong, active, vigorous.

From a portrait painted by his brother Winthrop and the recollections of his daughter, Mrs. William Dayton, who died in January, 1859, in her ninety-second year, we gather this description of Dr. Chandler's personal appearance and

tastes: "He was a large portly man, of fine personal appearance, of a countenance expressive of high intelligence, though considerably marred by the small pox, of an uncommonly blue eye, of a strong commanding voice and a great lover of music. He had fine powers of conversation and was a most agreeable companion for persons of all ages. He was very fond of home, fond of retirement and study, and was greatly beloved by his congregation."⁸⁰ The words of the Rev. Dr. Berrian form a fit pendant: "I have scarcely ever met with any aged person belonging to our church who had visited Elizabeth Town, that they did not delight in recalling the many happy hours which he had spent in that agreeable family and at that hospitable board. Extensively as Dr. Chandler was known and respected by strangers he was still more beloved by his parishioners and friends. Cheerful in his temper, easy and accessible in his discourse with others, fond of study, of retirement and all rural pursuits, but yet of blending and sweetening them with social enjoyment, remaining much at home, and from an aversion to preaching elsewhere, never out of his own pulpit, it was natural that his affability, his kindness, his constant presence and unintermitted labors should greatly endear him to his people."⁸¹

The Rev. Ernest Hawkins, for many years the indefatigable Secretary of the S. P. G., in his notice of Dr. Chandler in that valuable volume, "Missions of the Church of England," says: "There is hardly any name in the annals of the American Church which is better known than that of Dr. Chandler. In whatever character he be regarded as a missionary, theologian, controversialist, biographer, or champion of the American Episcopate--in every way he seems to demand a distinct notice."⁸²

To the testimony of Dr. Berrian and Prebendary Hawkins we would add that of the well-known scholar and critic, a faithful layman of the Church, whose literary judgment and critical acumen have seldom been surpassed even in the present day, the Hon. Gulian C. Verplauck, LL.D., Professor of the Evidences of Revealed Religion in the General Theological Seminary from 1821 to 1825. In the conclusion of a sketch of the life of his great-grandfather, Dr. Samuel Johnson, he says:

"Dr. Chandler appears to have been a man of great activity of mind and ardor

of application, but his powers were exerted chiefly in controversies; which, however important at the time, are now considered only of local and temporary interest; the political circumstances of the times exposed him to odium, and even persecution, and his declining age was embittered with a lingering and painful disease, which he sustained with matchless fortitude. Now, however, that the fitful fever of political and theological discord has gone past, it is due as well to the reputation of that church of which he was the ornament and champion, as to the general literary character of the country, that the memory of such a man should not be suffered to moulder in oblivion."⁸³

Our review of Dr. Chandler's life--our seeing him in his parish, among his books, among the great ones of the earth, and with his friends--has made us know his high principles, his thorough conscientiousness, his fidelity to duty and has made us know better a priest who was zealous for the House of God and the offices thereof. And while we may regret that some portions of his life are not more fully told in his own words, while we may wish that more details might be given, especially that his letters from English Bishops and dignitaries had been preserved or that his missionary efforts had been described more at length or that anecdotes and doings had been handed down to the present day, yet what remain serve as the outlines for the portrait of a man of God, faithful, reverent, devout, whose labors both as a parish priest and a theologian entitle him to be ranked among the worthies of the American Colonial Church. In that noble company of pioneers and confessors, with Hunt and Whittaker, Bray and Blair, Keith and Talbot, Cutler and Johnson, Barclay and Ogilvie, Beach and Leaming, Seabury and Inglis, we would enrol Thomas Bradbury Chandler, Priest and Doctor.⁸⁴

Appendix.

The extracts here given from letters first published in the Reprint of the journals of the Convention of New Jersey, 1785-1816, edited by James Parker of Perth Amboy, N.J., show conclusively that the Memorial was prepared without Dr. Chandler's assistance. Dr. Abraham Beach writes to the Hon. James Parker from "New York, June 30th, 1786": "Four of the lay Delegates for New Jersey must attend, the Convention will otherwise

think they are ashamed of what they have done." In his reply Mr. Parker says: "Dear Sir; I wanted the copy of the memorial from you, to remove some prejudices that were imbibed by several persons of some consequence in the Legislature of New Brunswick, from a false representation of my conduct at the Convention, which was contrived to affect all in a political view, to the obstructing measures I was pursuing, and which had the full effect until I contradicted them, nay they even went so far as to say that I opposed all alterations made in the Liturgy, and that John De Hart, myself, and others that were principally opposed to the proceedings of the Convention at Philadelphia, were under

Dr. Chandler's direction and tools to him.... Strange that a man should be so bigoted as not to allow every person admitted as a member of a Convention the liberty of thinking for himself and declaring what he thinks upon every matter agitated." In a letter to the Hon. John De Hart from Perth Amboy, June 11, 1786, Mr. Parker says: "I have not heard a word from you since we kicked up such a dust at the Convention.... and can not conceive that the idle story of Dr. Chandler's influencing the opposition of our Convention to the proceedings of the General Convention should reach so far as to become the chit-chat of the public tables at Princetown and Brunswick."

1 See William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. V (N.Y., 1861), pp. 137-142.

2 See Ernest Hawkins, Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, London, 1845, p. 151.

3 In the first paragraph of this letter they also mentioned the death of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth Town.

4 The Rev. Samuel Seabury was the father of Bishop Seabury, and the Rector of St. Georges, Hempstead, L.I.; the Rev. Isaac Brown was Rector of Trinity Church, Newark, N.J.; and the Rev. Richard Charlton was the assistant minister and catechist of Trinity Church, New York City, afterward Rector of Staten Island.

5 See Samuel Adams Clark, The Episcopal Church in the American Colonies: The History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, from the Year 1703 to the Present Time, Phila., 1857, pp. 59-60.

6 See Ernest Hawkins, op. cit., p. 150.

7 Ibid., p. 151.

8 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 63.

9 Ibid., p. 64.

10 Ibid., pp. 65-68.

11 See the letter of Thomas Secker, Bishop of Oxford, on pages 174-175 of Thomas Bradbury Chandler's The Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., N.Y., 1805.

12 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 72.

13 See Eben Edwards Beardsley, Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D., N.Y., 1874, p. 199.

14 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 82.

15 Ibid., pp. 83-84.

16 Ibid., p. 86.

17 Ibid., pp. 101-103.

18 At this point in the MS. the author refers to a published article of his own: see Joseph Hooper, "The Struggle for the Episcopate in the American Colonies," The Church Eclectic, XII, no. 8 (Nov., 1884), pp. 673-682, and no. 9 (Dec., 1884), pp. 769-777.

19 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., pp. 110-112.

20 Ibid., pp. 113-115.

21 The MS. Minute Book, in Samuel Seabury's handwriting, is still preserved by his great-grandson, Prof. William J. Seabury, D.D., of New York.

22 See E. E. Beardsley, Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D., p. 313; also the preface to Chandler's "Appeal to the American Public," p. ix.

23 See E. E. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 312.

24 Published in Boston in 1767.

25 See E. E. Beardsley, op. cit., pp. 313-314.

26 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., pp. 135-138.

27 See his A Sermon Preached before the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen, in the Communion of the Church of England in America at their Anniversary...at Perth Amboy, Burlington, N.J., [1771]. Reprinted in Phila., 1880.

28 Letter of Mar. 27, 1769, in Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 142.

29 The Rev. William Frazer, ordained in 1767, was missionary at Trenton. He also officiated at St. Andrew's, Amwell. He died in 1795.

30 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit.,

pp. 143-144.

31 Ibid., pp. 146-147.

32 Hooper's original footnote: "For a copy of this valuable and interesting Memorial see Documentary History of New York, vol. iv. p. 1091." I have been unable to check The Documentary History of the State of New York, arranged under the direction of...C. Morgan...by E. B. O'Callaghan, (4 vols.) Albany, 1849-1850.

33 The number at that time was six missionaries and seven catechists.

34 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

35 Ibid., pp. 150-151.

36 Written by Archdeacon Francis Blackburn, of Cleveland in Yorkshire, and published in London in 1770. Archbishop Secker's "Letter" was published in his Sermons and Life in the same year.

37 This letter is in the Archives of Columbia College, New York.

38 See E. E. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 352.

39 The Rev. Abraham Beach, then Rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, N.J., afterward Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York, who died in 1828.

40 See E. E. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 368.

41 Ibid., p. 353.

42 Ibid., p. 353.

43 Thomas Bradbury Chandler, The Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., the First President of King's College in New York, N.Y., 1805.

44 They frequently continued their discussions until beams of morning light came in through the closed shutters.

45 See Robert Bolton, History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the County of Westchester, N.Y., 1855, p. 86.

46 See E. F. Hatfield, History of Elizabeth, New Jersey, N.Y., 1868, pp. 406-433.

47 See Lorenzo Sabine, The American Loyalists; or Biographical Sketches of Adherents to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution, (1st ed.) Boston, 1847, pp. 692-705; also Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, (13 vols.) Albany, 1853-1881, VIII, pp. 297, 568, 581.

48 See George Shea, The Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton, Boston, 1879, p. 354.

49 Mrs. G. C. Barber, of Elizabeth, N.J. (A typescript is in the Archives of the Diocese of Connecticut.)

50 John Tabor Kempe, vestryman of Trinity Church (1769-1778); warden and trustee of King's College.

51 Quoted in E. F. Hatfield, op. cit., p. 544, from Documents Relative to the

Colonial History of...New York, VIII, p. 569.

52 James Rivington was a printer, publisher of the New York Gazette, whose office was attacked, his press broken and his types destroyed.

53 The Rev. Samuel Cooke, of Shrewsbury, N.J.

54 This contradicts the statement that Dr. Cooper fled to the "Asia."

55 In 1774, the Rev. John Vardill, ancestor of General Edward W. Laight, was called as an Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York. He was then in England and never entered upon his duties because of the War. See William Berrian, An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York, N.Y., 1847, p. 136.

55a See E. F. Hatfield, op. cit., p.

475. See also New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence, pp. 143-154 and 189-198. Cf. Jared Sparks edition of The Writings of George Washington, VI, pp. 252-255.

56 Conferred early in 1778.

57 See William B. Sprague, op. cit., V, p. 140.

58 John Churchill Rudd, Rector of St. John's, 1805-1826; Rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn, N.Y.; and founder of the Gospel Messenger. He died Nov. 15, 1848, aged 68.

59 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 160.

60 Ibid., p. 161.

61 Ibid., p. 193. See also John Henry Hobart's Posthumous Works, with a Memoir of his Life by the Rev. William Berrian, (3 vols.) N.Y., 1833, I, pp. 71-75.

62 See The Churchman's Magazine, III (1806), p. 115, and Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States...Documents concerning the Church in Connecticut, ed. Francis L. Hawks and William Stevens Perry, (2 vols.) N.Y., 1863, II, p. 218; also Eben Edwards Beardsley, Life and Correspondence of...Samuel Seabury, D.D., Boston, 1881, pp. 84-85.

63 See the sources given in note 62.

64 See the sources given in note 62.

65 See Thomas Lathbury, A History of the Nonjurors: Their Controversies and Writings; with Remarks on Some of the Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, London, 1845, p. 411. Dr. Seabury acknowledged this courtesy in October, 1784. See E. E. Beardsley Life...of Samuel Seabury, D.D., p. 135.

66 See E. E. Beardsley, Life...of Samuel Seabury, D.D., p. 177.

67 Ibid., pp. 177-178.

68 See The Churchman's Magazine, IV (1807), p. 383; also Beardsley, Life...of Samuel Seabury, D.D., pp. 188-189.

69 For this letter, see Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church... ed. William Stevens Perry, (3 vols.) Claremont, N.H., III, pp. 70-71.

70 Ibid., III, p. 72.

71 Ibid., III, pp. 370-371.

72 See the appendix for a letter of Mr. James Parker to the writer.

73 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 190.

74 Bp. Inglis died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on Feb. 24, 1816, in his eighty-second year.

75 See Dr. William S. Langford's Convention Sermon (New Jersey, 1804), note 21.

76 See E. F. Hatfield, op. cit., p. 550.

77 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 161.

78 Bp. John Henry Hobart.

79 Bp. William Hobart Hare, of Niobrara, the 100th bishop in the American succession.

80 For Mrs. Dayton's recollections, see William B. Sprague, op. cit., V, pp. 141-142.

81 See Samuel Adams Clark, op. cit., p. 192.

82 See Ernest Hawkins, op. cit., p. 150.

83 See the American Medical and Philosophical Register for 1812, pp. 151-152.

84 For additional bibliography on Chandler consult the following works: Arthur Lyon Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies, N.Y., 1902; Albert Harrison Hoyt, "Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D." (1873) A reprint from the N. Eng. Hist. & Geneal. Register, XXVII, pp. 227-236; John C. Rudd, Historical Notices of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, N.J., Elizabethtown, 1825; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College, II (New Haven 1896); William Stevens Perry, The History of the American Episcopal Church (1587-1883), (2 vols.) Boston, 1885.



GETTING together during annual Connecticut Episcopal diocesan convention at Christ Church Cathedral today are, left, Saffragan Bishop John Esquirol, Episcopal Bishop of Connecticut, Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, and Suffragan Bishop J. Warren Hutchens. — [Times

